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**Durham University**  
**Department of Music**

**John Wesley and Methodist Music  
in the Eighteenth Century:  
Principles and Practice**

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**Martin Vaughan Clarke**  
**St Chad's College**

**PhD Thesis**

**2008**



**1 8 APR 2008**

# John Wesley and Methodist Music in the Eighteenth Century: Principles and Practice

*Martin V. Clarke, Durham University*

## ABSTRACT

Since Methodism's inception in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, hymnody has played a crucial role in the expression of its theological beliefs and doctrinal standards. From early in the movement's history, it has been regarded as one of the characteristic features of Methodist identity. Under John Wesley's guidance and fuelled by the creativity of his brother Charles, hymnody featured in almost all aspects of Methodist devotional life during the eighteenth century. John Wesley sought to exploit the potential of corporate song as a memorable means of concisely conveying a theological message to his followers and likely converts through the marriage of words and music. Under his authority, three collections of hymn tunes were published for use across the Methodist Connexion during the eighteenth century, while Charles Wesley's hymn texts attracted settings from several notable composers. John Wesley also attempted to establish a framework for the practical use of music and its significance within a theological context, addressing these issues in a range of short publications throughout his ministry.

This thesis explores the place of hymnody in eighteenth-century Methodism from a musical standpoint, assessing the stylistic, aesthetic, theological and doctrinal significance of the music associated with the movement and interpreting John Wesley's recorded views on music in relation to contemporary scholarship as well as his own theological values. Part I establishes the historical, theological and methodological frameworks for assessing the music before discussing Charles Wesley's verse and John Wesley's writings on music. Chapter 1 situates the emergence of Methodism against the religious and cultural backdrop of eighteenth-century Britain, while chapter 2 explores the possibilities of applying recent interdisciplinary scholarship on music and theology to congregational hymnody. Chapter 3 gives an overview of Methodism's early development and its theological and doctrinal position, while chapter 4 assesses Charles Wesley's hymn texts in terms of their theological significance, language and poetic structure. Chapter 5 deals with John Wesley's writings on music, considering the influence of contemporary scholarship in the areas of musical education and aesthetics as well as the impact of Wesley's theological beliefs on his musical views. Part II deals with the music associated with eighteenth-century Methodism, dealing with the three collections issued by Wesley in chapters 6, 8 and 10, and examining other key publications associated with Methodism: Lampe's *Hymns on the Great Festivals* in chapter 7, settings by Battishill and Handel in chapter 9, and an early nineteenth-century locally-produced collection, the *Illingworth Moor Tune Book*, in chapter 11. Discussion of all these sources concentrates on assessing their musical characteristics in relation to Methodism's theological values and examining the relationship between the music associated with Methodism and contemporary trends in secular art music. The various strands are drawn together in an overall summary of John Wesley's influence on Methodist music, arguing that his preferences reflect both the theological position he advocated and a largely conservative appreciation of art music.



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## **Introduction: Background and Current Literature**

Congregational hymn singing has historically been virtually synonymous with Methodism, since the first hymns of Charles Wesley were taken up by the movement in the mid-eighteenth century. Methodist meetings of all types and sizes historically included communal singing while the denomination retains the principle of authorising specific collections of hymnody for general use to this day.

The role of music in the movement cannot be over-estimated; although the texts of Methodism's hymns contain its essential beliefs and values, it was through their combination with music that they became such an integral part of its worship, doctrine and evangelical activity. John Wesley paid great attention to congregational music, issuing three collections of tunes for use within eighteenth-century Methodism, as well as authoring several texts concerning different aspects of music.

This study aims to investigate the music associated with Methodism in Wesley's lifetime, examining both the tunes he stipulated and other external sources in the light of his well-publicised theological and doctrinal principles. It seeks to explain the close but complex relationship that Wesley desired between principles and practice, while assessing the practical application of this across the movement at large. Using critical and theoretical literature as a background, it will attempt to construct a theological framework in which the music of eighteenth-century Methodism can be fully understood as a vital and integrated part of the movement's early history.

In terms of the relationship between music and theology, the work of Jeremy Begbie, Brian Wren, Jon Michael Spencer, and Robin Leaver has established this as a rich and fruitful area of study. These pioneering interdisciplinary works are, of necessity, largely theoretical in nature, offering valuable models for further study of particular musical repertoires and styles. This thesis is one such attempt.

Studies of early Methodism and the lives and works of the Wesley brothers abound, particularly in light of the recent tercentenary celebrations of their births, John's in 2003 and Charles' in 2007. Likewise, the theological, doctrinal and ecclesiological principles that shaped early Methodism have been subjected to considerable scholarly attention. Despite the wide-ranging publications on Charles Wesley's hymns, studies pertaining to the music of early Methodism are relatively few. James Lightwood's *Methodist Music of the Eighteenth Century* is one of the earliest contributions in this area, but despite containing much factual information, its brevity results in little attempt to contextualise its subject.<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Temperley's magisterial two-volume *The Music of the English Parish Church* sets out the most complete picture of the types of music that proliferated within the movement and how its musical practices related to those of other religious groups.<sup>2</sup> Temperley's *Hymn Tune Index*, in addition, provides a comprehensive record of individual tunes and collections of music printed in English up to 1820, and has been an immensely valuable research tool.<sup>3</sup> Other shorter works by the same author deal with many varied aspects of church music in the eighteenth century; this study owes a considerable debt to

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<sup>1</sup> James Thomas Lightwood, *Methodist Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Life and Work, London: Epworth Press, 1927).

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Vol. 1, 2 vols. (Cambridge Studies in Music, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> Nicholas Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2001) <<http://hymntune.library.uiuc.edu/>>, accessed 05/09/07.



Temperley's groundbreaking research. Erik Routley's *The Musical Wesleys* is the earliest attempt at a scholarly study of John and Charles Wesley's knowledge of and attitudes to music, although the main focus of the work is on later generations of the Wesley family.<sup>4</sup> Carlton Young's invaluable *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* provides a thorough background to the brothers' contributions to music along with much valuable commentary.<sup>5</sup> In it, Young writes 'My expectation is that this volume will prompt additional research and commentary.'<sup>6</sup> This study aims to respond to this challenge and has been much assisted by Young's work.

Part I deals with contextual issues, situating Methodism's emergence and development within the cultural and religious context of eighteenth-century Britain. It also introduces key theoretical approaches to the study of music and theology. The hymns of Charles Wesley and John Wesley's writings on music are discussed here so that the later discussion of the hymn tunes can be understood in the context of Methodist worship, theology and theoretical position. Part II deals with Wesley's three collections of hymn tunes, using selected examples from each to highlight stylistic and editorial features. Musical examples are reproduced without alteration; therefore, printing errors in the original sources remain. Discussion of other collections provides a broader picture of Methodist music-making in the eighteenth century against which Wesley's views and practices can be evaluated. The Appendices order the tunes in each collection alphabetically according to the tune name.

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<sup>4</sup> Erik Routley, *The Musical Wesleys* (London: Jenkins, 1968).

<sup>5</sup> Carlton R. Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* (Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Co., 1995).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 191.

## PART I: Context

### I. The Church and its Music in Eighteenth-Century

#### Britain

##### *Introduction*

The Toleration Act of 1689 exerted a profound influence over religious expression in eighteenth-century Britain, changing the status and understanding of the Church of England by making alternative religious affiliations legally permissible, altering the Established Church into 'one denomination among others, albeit one with many privileges.'<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the effects of the Enlightenment were apparent in attitudes to religion and religious practice at this time:

Enlightened minds ceased to equate religion with a body of commandments, graven in stone, dispersed through Scripture, accepted on faith and policed by the Church. Belief was becoming a matter of private judgement, for individual reason to adjudicate within the multi-religionism sanctioned by statutory toleration.<sup>2</sup>

Adherence to the Church of England in the eighteenth century was seen more as a matter of personal choice than obligation, yet it still occupied a prominent place within the life of the country. The history of the Church in the eighteenth century has been negatively perceived from a variety of perspectives, criticisms being levelled chiefly against its inability to provide adequate pastoral care due to the lack of a

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<sup>1</sup> Mark D. Chapman, *Anglicanism: A Very Short Introduction* (Very Short Introductions, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 56.

<sup>2</sup> Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London: Allen Lane, 2000) 99.



clergyman for each parish and absentee clergy, and the inadequate provision of worship in many parishes.<sup>3</sup>

Recent scholarship has done much to challenge these perceptions by re-examining the role, education, churchmanship and status of clergy, the provision and content of worship and the pastoral and educational role of the Church in the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Such scholarship has created a more complex picture of the eighteenth-century Church of England, and it is this backdrop that must be explored in order to understand the religious and cultural context from which Methodism emerged. John Wesley's family and educational background were steeped in the Anglican tradition, making a critical investigation of Anglican thought and practice essential in interpreting his leadership of all aspects of the Methodist movement, including its worship and music. John and Charles Wesley, along with several other prominent figures in the leadership of the Methodist movement were ordained priests of the Church of England and thus fully aware of its liturgical and musical customs and practice; such experiences need to be explored in relation to the formation of distinctively Methodist practices in order to fully assess the impact of Methodism and its worship in eighteenth-century religious life.

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<sup>3</sup> John Walsh and Stephen Taylor, 'Introduction: The Church and Anglicanism in the 'Long' Eighteenth Century', in John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor (eds.), *The Church of England, C.1689-C.1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1-64, 1-12. Walsh and Taylor discuss the nineteenth-century trend of negative historiography of the eighteenth-century Church that was common among writers from a whole range of church and historical perspectives.

<sup>4</sup> Late-nineteenth-century scholarship portrayed the Georgian Church in largely negative terms, accusing it of inactivity and corruption; see for example Charles J. Abbey and John H. Overton, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, 1878), John H. Overton and Frederic Relton, *The English Church from the Accession of George I to the End of the Eighteenth Century (1714-1800)*, Vol. 7 (A History of the English Church, London: Macmillan, 1906). More modern authors are also critical of the Church's effectiveness; see Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Allen Lane, 1982).

## ***Religious Belief and the Status of the Church of England***

In *Anglicanism: A Very Short Introduction*, Mark Chapman claims that 'From the eighteenth century onwards, there was a struggle for identity in the Church of England. This was combined with frequent questioning of the national church ideal by those who sought a 'real' rather than a nominal form of Christianity.'<sup>5</sup> He attributes the emergence of distinctive church parties to such developments, arguing that 'A longing for identity led to the proliferation of party organizations and groups and a form of voluntarism quite distinct from the compulsory church of earlier years.'<sup>6</sup>

The Toleration Act and the newly-emerging rationalization of religion in the minds of many indicate changing attitudes towards religious practice; religion was to be considered, analysed and debated rather than simply accepted and adhered to as a matter of obligation. The enlightened approach to religion dispensed with the notion of a vengeful God of judgement, preferring instead 'the benevolence of the Supreme Being and man's capacity to fulfil his duties through his God-given faculties, the chief of these being reason, that candle of the Lord.'<sup>7</sup> Protestantism, with its emphasis on Scripture and reason as well as tradition, was seen as more compatible with rational thought than the Catholic emphasis on divine mystery and priestly power. From a political standpoint, the marriage of religion and reason was desirable in offering a means for minimising the Church's position as a source of authority above that of the state in the control it exercised over the populace: 'What the political nation sought was a rational religion, involving the destruction of idolatry and priestly power.

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<sup>5</sup> Chapman, *Anglicanism: A Very Short Introduction* 58.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* 100.



Enlightenment in Britain took place within, rather than against, Protestantism.’<sup>8</sup>

Counterbalancing this, however, was an increasing scepticism of populist religion and religious fervour, which combined with an increase in secular pursuits among certain sections of society and the development of rational philosophical thought, caused some decrease in church attendance; Julian Hoppit notes that three main factors were commonly cited to explain this trend:

Contemporaries advanced three main explanations for this supposed spiritual decay: that more and more were worshipping Mammon rather than God; that the Toleration Act had undermined the foundations of religious observance; and, finally, that scepticism and freethinking encouraged some to deny doctrines fundamental not only to the Church of England but even to Christianity.<sup>9</sup>

This close relationship between Enlightenment thought, rational religion and the state was markedly different from the religious climate of dissent in mainland Europe: ‘In short, the peculiarity of England was that the strong modernising drive that we identify with the Enlightenment was integral to the preservation of the establishment in state and Church.’<sup>10</sup> However, it would be inaccurate to claim that Church and state coexisted in a mutually respectful and complimentary relationship; the Nonjuring schism following the Glorious Revolution had seen between 300 and 400 clergy forming a distinctive group within the Church, united by their refusal to accept the legality of William of Orange’s reign as King. A separate group of High Churchmen, politically aligned with the Tories, sought an alternative arrangement,

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 99.

<sup>9</sup> Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England 1689-1727* (The New Oxford History of England, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

<sup>10</sup> Knud Haakonssen, *Enlightenment and Religion: Rational Dissent in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Ideas in Context, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 3.

whereby the Church and the Monarch would be granted some independence from the government.<sup>11</sup>

Such groupings indicate that there were divisions within the Church of England on political grounds, but also reflecting the ideological considerations of the Enlightenment. Differing opinions and practices also centred on other issues, however, particularly concerning Scripture and liturgical practice. Diversity of religious practice was commonly recognised as a feature of eighteenth-century Britain; Wilfrid Prest cites Voltaire's statement in the fifth of his *Letters concerning the English Nation* that 'everyone is permitted to serve God in whatever mode or fashion he thinks proper.'<sup>12</sup> Evangelicalism became a driving force of religious reform during the eighteenth century, with many clergy introducing changes to the worship in their parishes in an attempt to reinvigorate their congregations. Itinerant preaching and a strongly Calvinistic theology became characteristic of the clergy associated with the new movement; biblical authority and adherence to particular doctrines were foremost in many preachers' minds, in some instances to such an extent that they oversaw the erection of independent chapels 'in which the purest tenets of Calvinism might be preached in parishes where the incumbent disapproved of the revival and its doctrines.'<sup>13</sup> Such theological views frequently led to associations with Nonconformist evangelicals, in particular Congregationalists.<sup>14</sup> Culturally, evangelical expressions of religion tended to attract a different section of

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<sup>11</sup> Chapman, *Anglicanism: A Very Short Introduction* 59.

<sup>12</sup> Cited in Wilfrid R. Prest, *Albion Ascendant: English History, 1660-1815* (The Short Oxford History of the Modern World, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) 134.

<sup>13</sup> Norman Sykes, *Church and State in England in the XVIIIth Century: The Birkbeck Lectures in Ecclesiastical History Delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1931-33* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934) 397. For example, William Grimshaw and Henry Venn, two leading Anglican Evangelicals, were prominent subscribers to independent Chapels within their parishes in order to preserve the preaching tradition after their incumbency.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.



the population from those who subscribed to the new ideas of rational religion; Norman Sykes describes their achievement in reaching out to such people, 'They supplied the new leaven to quicken and revivify the religion of the nation, and especially of those unlettered classes which remained untouched by the Latitudinarian theology of the cultivated clergy and laity though not protected from the vices of the age.'<sup>15</sup>

This variety of religious expression, belief and political allegiance illustrate the diversity of the Church of England in the eighteenth century; its clergy were instrumental in forming associations based on any of these aspects of religious life. The role of the clergy in guiding the religious life within their parishes was of critical importance, and was often affected by the political views and churchmanship they held. These often led to different approaches and emphases in various aspects of parish life, including the provision of worship, pastoral oversight and the encouragement of parishioners to attend church.

## **The Parish System and Changing Demography**

However, the increasing population and changing demography, largely due to the development of new industries in previously sparsely-populated areas, presented a fresh challenge to the Church, which the Parish system struggled to cope with.

Doreen Rosman describes the limitations of the Parish system in responding to the needs of the day:

As the number of people living in England increased, new concentrations of population developed in areas which had previously contained few inhabitants. These demographic

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid. 398. Prominent members of the laity were also attracted to the movement, including William Wilberforce, William Cowper and Hannah More.

changes created a need for more churches and for the redrawing of parish boundaries but the creation of any new parish had to be authorised by parliament, the only body capable of redistributing ecclesiastical resources.<sup>16</sup>

Until the Church Buildings Act of 1818, the state provided no assistance for the construction of new places of worship; instead, the Church relied largely on the generosity of the wealthy classes. This meant that church building patterns did not necessarily correspond with population growth: 'New churches were least likely to be built in the working-class districts of the industrializing towns.'<sup>17</sup> As with other areas of Church life, its response to changing population patterns was inconsistent, depending largely on local circumstances rather than a centralised policy. This naturally had an impact on the relationship between the Church and its parishioners: 'Not all parishioners were well served and some English people who lived miles from a church building had little contact with any minister of religion.'<sup>18</sup>

## ***Worship in the Eighteenth-Century Church: Provision, Form and Content***

### **Patterns and Frequency of Parish Worship**

The provision of worship within the Church was governed by Canon Laws established in the seventeenth century, which sought to stipulate both minimum requirements and establish standards for regular practice:

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<sup>16</sup> Doreen M. Rosman, *The Evolution of the English Churches, 1500-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 144. Rosman notes that there was a particular need for new churches in the north of England, one of the main centres for industrial development.

<sup>17</sup> Walsh and Taylor, 'Introduction: The Church and Anglicanism in the 'Long' Eighteenth Century', 10. Walsh and Taylor argue that until the dramatic industrial growth at the end of the century, the Church in fact coped adequately with the demands of a changing population.

<sup>18</sup> Rosman, *The Evolution of the English Churches, 1500-2000* 146.



The 'gold standard' of public worship had been established by the Canons of 1604 and in essence consisted of the 'double duty' of two services, matins with litany and Ante-Communion and evensong each Sunday. The rubrics of the Prayerbook also required parishioners to receive the eucharist at a minimum of at least three celebrations of Communion a year.<sup>19</sup>

Records show that the adherence to these standards varied from diocese to diocese.<sup>20</sup>

Although there were many churches in which double duty was not performed, the reasons behind this were often complex and not simply due to clerical neglect; for example, in a diocese such as Llandaff, where many parishes were sparsely populated, clergy often alternated between matins and evensong on a weekly basis.<sup>21</sup> Although the realisation of the double duty requirement was limited, many churches exceeded the stipulations for Communion services; double duty in the diocese of London declined during the century but Communion services became more frequent, while in many churches in several other diocese including Exeter, Worcester, Bangor and St Asaph, Communion was celebrated on either a quarterly, monthly or weekly basis.<sup>22</sup> Surprisingly, parishes in the north of England, Wales and urban areas, which were more likely to be affected by pluralism and non-residence of clergy, often achieved a higher frequency of Communion services and double duty than southern or rural parishes.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> William Gibson, *The Achievement of the Anglican Church, 1689-1800: The Confessional State in Eighteenth Century England* (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1995) 178.

<sup>20</sup> In the Diocese of York in 1743, 453 out of 836 churches did not have double duty, whereas in St Asaph Diocese in 1738, 96% of churches maintained double duty, either in English or Welsh. Ibid. 178-79.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. 179. Other reasons included poor access to churches, particularly in winter, and pluralism, which prevented clergy from leading two services in each church every Sunday.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 181.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

During the eighteenth century, sermons were highly regarded within the Church, and a strong emphasis placed on preaching at services: 'In one respect town and country were alike, in the desire of the generality of churchmen to hear a sermon upon their assistance at divine worship.'<sup>24</sup> The generally preferred style reflected the trend of rationalising religion, expressed in clear terms:

Correspondent with this clarity and simplicity of diction was the theology of the Latitudinarian movement which stamped its peculiar character upon the religious belief and practice of the Georgian Church. Its doctrines were marked by plainness and directness; and the essential content of the Christian evangel was epitomised in the proclamation of the Fatherhood of God and the duty of benevolence in Man.<sup>25</sup>

The focus on preaching can also be observed in the layout of church interiors during the eighteenth century. Pulpits were either newly-constructed or adapted to assist the oration of sermons. Elaborate structures such as three-decker pulpits were installed in many churches, their significant physical presence providing a clear indicator of the esteem in which the preaching tradition was held. Doreen Rosman indicates the importance of the placing and design of the pulpit in the eighteenth-century church, arguing a direct correlation between its prominence and the importance attached to the sermon:

The importance of preaching was reflected in church fittings. Ancient churches were not always well-suited for the delivery of sermons, so large sounding boards were placed over

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<sup>24</sup> Sykes, *Church and State in England in the XVIIIth Century: The Birkbeck Lectures in Ecclesiastical History Delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1931-33* 256.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 257. This style of preaching was based on the model of Archbishop John Tillotson (1630-94), a prominent Latitudinarian theologian.



pulpits.... Three-decker pulpits became common, the top tier used for preaching, the second for reading prayers, and the third for a parish clerk to lead congregational responses.<sup>26</sup>

As with other aspects of worship, liturgical practices in the eighteenth century were also diverse; Horton Davies differentiates between Anglican and Puritan worship, which placed different weight on various elements of liturgical practice:

it was characteristic of the Anglican responses, the brief collects, the psalms, the changes of posture, the processions and movements, that they all provided variety and made concentration on worship more easily maintained by the congregation. Common Prayer was, in short, an *art*, with a deep psychological understanding. Puritan worship would make no such concessions; its eye was steadily on God and His inflexible demands, not on the needs of the weaker brethren.<sup>27</sup>

It is clear that the provision, style and content of worship within the Church of England varied considerably in the eighteenth century. Attitudes and perceptions amongst clergy and laity also spanned a broad range, and despite the Church's attempts to stipulate normative practices, liturgical and intellectual preferences exercised influence over worship at a local level.

### ***Music in Church in the Eighteenth Century***

Although the provision of worship varied considerably across Britain in the eighteenth century, provoking different interpretations from historians, it is widely acknowledged as a seminal period in the development of hymnody: 'Weekly in church or chapel, the

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<sup>26</sup> Rosman, *The Evolution of the English Churches, 1500-2000* 138.

<sup>27</sup> Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England: From Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850*, Vol. 3 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961) 32-33. Despite the terminology used by Davies, his definition of 'Puritan' includes sections of the Church of England as well as Baptists, Presbyterians or Congregationalists.

Protestant nation heard Bible religion preached from the pulpit, and indeed sang it, in what proved to be the golden age of English hymnody.’<sup>28</sup> Music occupied an important place in Anglican worship during the eighteenth century, but as with other elements of worship, the precise nature of its content, style and execution were subject to debate and different interpretations. Issues such as the role, positioning and repertoire of choirs, congregational involvement, and instrumental accompaniment all attracted attention from the clergy and laity; both those with and without musical training or expertise contributed their views on the place and practice of music in worship. This range of views, along with details of liturgical practice and musical repertoire and performance practice needs to be fully explored in order to gain an overall understanding of Anglican worship in the eighteenth century. Music was also to feature prominently in the worship of Methodism from its earliest days, and in order to establish its significance in the development of the movement’s identity, the broader context of church music practices during the period must first be discussed.

Nicholas Temperley’s seminal work *The Music of the English Parish Church* addresses stylistic and ideological issues concerning the music of this period; he divides his discussion of the period into three principal sections, focussing on urban church music, country psalmody and reform movements respectively.<sup>29</sup>

## **Rational Religion and Music: Church Music in the Towns<sup>30</sup>**

The prevailing rationalisation of religion amongst those influenced by enlightenment thought also made its presence felt in the realm of church music. Temperley identifies

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<sup>28</sup> Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* 97.

<sup>29</sup> Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Vol. 1, 2 vols. (Cambridge Studies in Music, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

<sup>30</sup> For a fuller discussion of repertoire, practice and attitudes towards church music in the towns, see chapter 5, ‘Urban parish church music (1660-1790) in *Ibid.* 100-40.



two driving forces behind the reforms of church music in urban parishes; firstly, an increased emphasis on piety, and secondly, a disregard for the older style, resulting in a desire to find a form of musical expression suitable for a prosperous society.

Governed by the new rational approach to religion, the use of choirs and organ accompaniment became important aspects of worship, though sometimes resulting from aesthetic rather than religious considerations: 'In many cases it must be admitted that the main function of an organ was to provide a kind of musical whitewash, so that decorum could be attained for the ear as well as the eye.'<sup>31</sup> Organ voluntaries were popular and reflected the preference for Italianate melody-dominated styles of composition, in the manner of violin sonatas or operatic arias and duets. Pieces were designed to be aurally satisfying: 'The taste of the time demanded a bright and easily melodious style, having little to do with the traditional styles of religious music, and an occasional display of brilliant technique.'<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, the music was designed to appeal to those influenced by the new rational thought of the Enlightenment rather than to conform to religious models:

Primarily, the last vestiges of all reference to liturgical material are done away with....

Eighteenth-century organ music became as firmly diatonic as all other music. It aimed to delight the listener in a direct way, such as his reason would admit; it abandoned all attempt to decorate or illustrate an already-accepted ritual.<sup>33</sup>

Organ music was not simply used to display the skills of the organist or the prestige of the organ, but also occupied a liturgical role, typically through the playing of a short

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid. 101.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. 102-03.

<sup>33</sup> Edward John Routh, *Early English Organ Music from the Middle Ages to 1837*, ed. Erik Routley (Studies in Church Music, London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1973) 155.

voluntary to precede or succeed the first lesson at morning and evening prayer.<sup>34</sup>

Single-composer collections of voluntaries gradually replaced the practice of multi-composer collections of the previous century; some of the earliest examples by composers working in England were Thomas Roseingrave's *Voluntarys or fugues made on purpose for the organ or harpsichord* (1728) and Handel's *Six fugues or voluntarys* (1735) as well as works by composers such as William Croft and Philip Hart.

While high-quality organ music could be achieved and appreciated largely through financial support by members of the congregation, through providing an organ and paying an organist, the achievement of a similar standard of vocal music required the on-going participation of a larger group of people. A common solution in wealthy town churches was the endowment of charity schools for poor children, with the result that the children formed choirs to sing in church. The presence of such a choir, along with a finely-decorated organ represented a successful and wealthy parish: 'There was something aristocratic in the notion of paying for one's musical entertainment, and the new psalmody approached the music that was heard in the great houses of the nobility – not only in the outward conditions but in style as well.'<sup>35</sup>

The proliferation of children's choirs also reflected the strong influence of Italian music on the educated classes; such voices naturally lent themselves to high-voice, melody-driven compositional styles, with organ accompaniment. Psalmody written in this manner achieved great popularity, as it meant that 'music in church could please

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<sup>34</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* 135. Temperley notes that 'The term 'voluntary' implies an improvised performance, which was indeed the origin of the genre, and which tended to prevent the development of any strict formal structure: throughout its history the voluntary has had no set form.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. 102.



cultivated persons by its resemblance to fashionable art music.’<sup>36</sup> The burgeoning of religious societies towards the end of the seventeenth century also had an impact on musical repertoire, as many of their meetings included psalm-singing. Composers often wrote anthems for children’s choir and bass singers, who would have been drawn from such societies. These works often featured passages for solo voices, usually treble and bass, alternated with organ interludes and chorus passages, typically scored for two treble parts with bass; the pieces were often strophic, with repeated sections of music for different verses, sometimes with a refrain. Two extracts from William Croft’s hymn ‘Ascribe to God most solemn praise’ illustrate several of these points;<sup>37</sup> the opening of contrasting phrases for organ and soloist:



Figure I-1: William Croft 'Ascribe to God most solemn praise' (c. 1705?), bars 1-7

The chorus setting of verses three and five illustrates the melody-dominated writing, with homophonic writing, including a short sequence, above a functional bass line:

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>37</sup> See Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Vol. 2, 2 vols. (Cambridge Studies in Music, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 60-65.

CHORUS

3. Let us to God in grate - ful thanks Our cheer - ful, cheer - ful voi - ces raise.  
5. O then with us give thanks to God, Who still does gra - cious, gra - cious prove.

[Gt.]

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Figure I-2: William Croft 'Ascribe to God most solemn praise' (c. 1705?), bars 44-51

These examples show the Italianate melodic style, with simple, elegant phrases, sequential movement, and occasional melismas; the music is far more reminiscent of operatic ensemble writing than traditional contrapuntal religious choral music. Such pieces were specifically designed to reflect the cultural sophistication and economic prosperity of the congregations in the churches where they were sung:

The new music would represent, in several ways, the worldly success and status of those who financed it. The richness of the gilded organ case and pipes, like that of the rest of the church, showed not only the generosity of the donors (often commemorated by a plaque) but their wealth; the uniforms of the charity children marked their subservience, which was also hammered home in the specially written hymns and anthems they were asked to sing on the occasion of the annual or twice-yearly charity sermon.<sup>38</sup>

Although worship was governed by law, musical matters were frequently imprecisely defined, allowing the personal and local preferences of the clergy and laity to exercise considerable influence:

<sup>38</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* 101-02.



The responsibility for discussions concerning music was divided between the incumbent (the rector or vicar of the parish), under the supervision of the ordinary (the bishop of the diocese), and the parish vestry, which theoretically represented the wishes and interests of the parishioners, but was not always democratically elected.<sup>39</sup>

As music was not a required part of the liturgy, its inclusion was entirely at the discretion of the incumbent; the parish was under no obligation to fund musical provision even if some desired an organ and organist, both of which had on-going financial implications. Occasionally, an organ was purchased as a result of a personal bequest and thereafter maintained by the parish, though more commonly they were funded by subscriptions. This latter practice reflected the attitude of the parishioners. Temperley notes that this practice 'depended on finding enough people of ample means, who resided in the parish and attended the parish church, and who felt enough pride and interest in the services there to contribute to the musical expenses.'<sup>40</sup>

Similarly, the foundation and maintenance of charity schools and choirs also required financial backing from the parish, usually through a local religious society. Churches in which a high-quality programme of choral and organ music was maintained reflected the affluence and opinions of the parishioners together with the views of the clergy, influenced by the rational, materialistic culture prevalent amongst the educated classes. Adherence to such conventions in terms of repertoire, instruments, musicians and the financial means to support all three indicated a parish that was prosperous, forward-looking and eager to reflect this in its religious practices.

The number of parishes with the means to support such musical activity was naturally limited and the likelihood of such prosperity was heavily dependent on the

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid. 105-06.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 107.

geographical location of the parish and the size and profile of its population.

Surprisingly, it was not necessarily connected with the historic importance of the parish in religious terms.<sup>41</sup>

Many London churches were governed by select vestries, which meant that decisions concerning music and worship were made by a small group of people, usually specifically chosen for their social and financial status, or musical opinions: 'As far as church music was concerned, they held a patrician view of its function, paying professionals to provide elegant music for the congregation to listen to, and discouraging the traditional congregational singing.'<sup>42</sup> This practice can be seen both as a reversion to pre-Reformation worship and as an imitation of the worship of the Cathedrals of the day.

Congregational psalmody did, however, still occupy a place in the worship of many parish churches, although hymns were largely confined to private devotion, having no prescribed place in the liturgy. Many new metrical Psalters were published around the turn of the eighteenth century, though the 'Old Version' remained the most popular.<sup>43</sup> Of the contemporary versions, Tate and Brady's 1696 edition *A new version of the psalms of David, fitted to the tunes used in churches* gained approval from influential figures such as the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of

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<sup>41</sup> Despite the religious significance of York, as the church's centre in the North, until 1791 only one church other than the Minster possessed an organ. Parishes in cities such as York and Norwich were 'in circumstances varying from moderate to extreme poverty.' This made the financial support of professional music-making virtually impossible. Ibid. 108. Conversely, parishes in areas of moderate growth, such as ports or market towns, were often able to afford an organ and maintain a charity school and choir. Again, the church served as a centre for both religious devotion and as a sign of affluence; 'It often happened that the parish church, in the absence of a cathedral, attracted a good deal of civic pride, and aldermen and leading citizens took pleasure in contributing to the decoration of the building and the adornment of the services.' Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* 109.

<sup>42</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* 115.

<sup>43</sup> Sternhold and Hopkins' metrical translation of the psalms, published as *The whole booke of psalms* (1562).



London. Initially, the collection contained no music, as the texts were intended to fit the tunes associated with the Old Version. However, successive editions of a supplement contained hymns, and the sixth edition (1708) contained several new tunes: 'the most important were HANOVER, ST ANNE, and ST MATTHEW, printed anonymously but attributed on reasonably sound evidence to William Croft.'<sup>44</sup>

Although composed for congregational use, such tunes nonetheless embodied the stylistic preferences and religious attitudes of the time; their dignity, stately melodic momentum and clearly-defined harmonic structure resonated with the school of thought that emphasised social status and prosperity through religious ceremony: 'For the first time it is possible to speak of individual character in psalm tunes: they begin to be miniature works of art.'<sup>45</sup>



Figure I-3: ST ANNE attributed to William Croft

Although such tunes gained popularity, many collections in use in town churches were much more conservative in their selection of tunes, which were usually drawn from seventeenth-century settings by Playford and Ravenscroft, printed in plain form. Organists were permitted to embellish tunes, but the desire was to move away from the ornate methods of the previous century, in which vocal ornaments proliferated.<sup>46</sup>

The state of urban church music was thus considerably varied in the eighteenth century, depending on religious, social and financial factors, all of which influenced

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<sup>44</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* 124.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> A popular collection of tunes issued by John Church (1723) contained no tunes written within the previous 100 years. Ibid. 133.

the style, repertoire and performance practice within local churches. The effects of rational religion can be readily observed, usually in conjunction with increased affluence and social standing amongst prominent members of the parish. The lack of a specified role for music within the official liturgies of the Church of England meant that rather than being consistently utilised as a means of religious expression or belief, peripheral concerns often dominated the musical agenda within church life, resulting in music being used as a symbol of the congregation's sophistication and prosperity, or at the other extreme, being poorly performed due to a lack of resources.

### **Parallel Developments and Reform: Music in Country Churches**

Although much criticism has been levelled against eighteenth-century provincial church music, Sally Drage argues that the situation was very varied in terms of repertoire, performance practice and attitudes towards music, despite the dominance of amateur composers and performers: 'It included not only psalms, but also anthems, service music, chants and hymns, and could be heard in both Anglican parish churches and nonconformist chapels.'<sup>47</sup> The economic and social situation in country parishes was markedly different from those in their urban counterparts: the desire for outward material signs of change was considerably less, with fewer challenges made against already-established social structures:

Older patterns and values were not yet greatly changed, and the country squire and parson, sure of their place in the local order, had little need to impress anyone with the elegance of the parish church and its services. Religious societies spread to the country, even to remote

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<sup>47</sup> Sally Drage, 'A Reappraisal of Provincial Church Music', in David Wyn Jones (ed.), *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 172-90, 172.



villages, but their impetus died away more quickly than in places where they were constantly stimulated by contact with energetic religious leaders.<sup>48</sup>

Nonetheless, a desire to reform psalmody also emerged in rural parishes, although it took a rather different form from the reforms in urban church music. Some members of the congregation were often taught how to read music either by the Parish Clerk or by peripatetic singing teachers. This led to the formation of voluntary parish choirs and the emergence of a range of suitable repertoire composed for them. Many collections of psalmody for such choirs were prefaced with remarks concerning the moral benefits of psalmody, or at least advocating music as a preventative activity against vice:

The classical belief in music's ethical powers was set up against the old puritanical suspicion of its strength over the emotions. So long as the new choirs were formed with the clear objective of helping the people at large to sing heartily and with understanding, they won widespread toleration and, here and there, active support from the clergy.<sup>49</sup>

Parish clerks were responsible for setting the correct pitch and from the mid-eighteenth century commonly used pitch pipes; many sources suggest the use of instrumental support, frequently a bass viol, though reports of such instruments actually being used are scarce. As the musical capability of the choir increased, it often resulted in demands for more complex music, which was to provoke mixed reactions from clergy in particular:

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<sup>48</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* 141.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. 144.

the introduction of more florid psalm tunes with melismas, dotted rhythms, and solo or duet sections were simultaneously condemned and condoned by many clergy: condemned because it effectively silenced any congregational participation, condoned because a performance by the choir of new, vigorous and tuneful music inevitably attracted larger congregations. As often in the history of religious music there was a conflict between worship in which everyone participated and elite performances that gratified the self-esteem of the performers.<sup>50</sup>

Collections of anthems for parish choirs were regularly published throughout the eighteenth century; Henry Playford's *The divine companion* (1701) was the first and proved successful, containing music specially written for such choirs by contemporary composers such as Jeremiah Clarke and William Croft. Local collections were to follow, often combining the works of these prominent composers with pieces written by local musicians. Playford's collection established a standard format of short, largely homophonic works, in two or three parts, with one or two parts in G clef and one part in bass clef. Clarke's anthem 'Praise the Lord, O my soul' illustrates the simple texture and correct part-writing typical of the collection.<sup>51</sup>

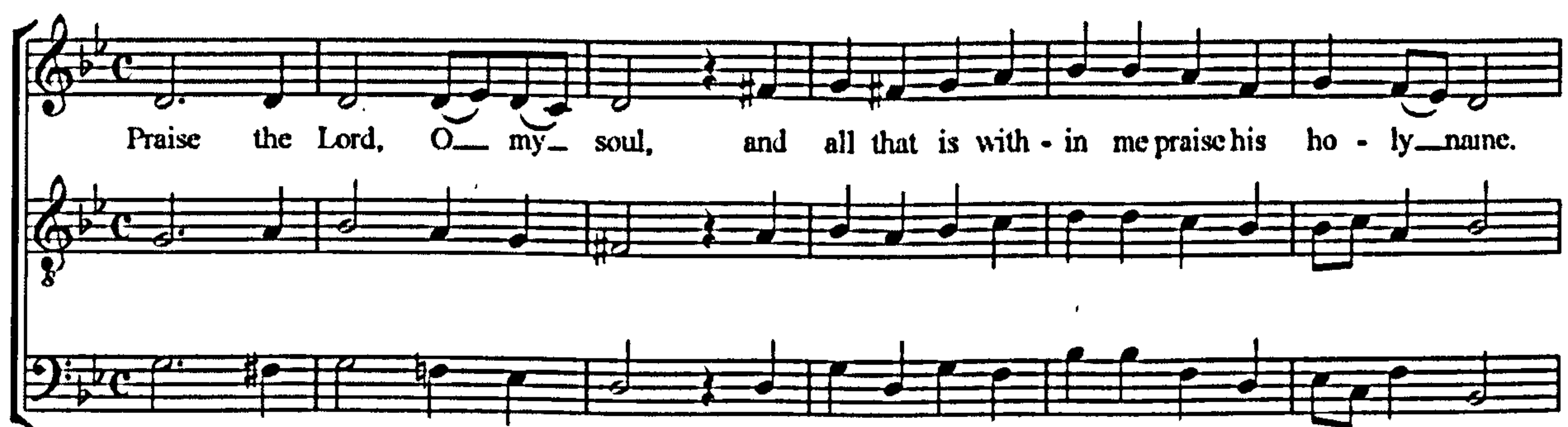


Figure I-4: Jeremiah Clarke 'Praise the Lord, O my soul', bars 1-6

Conversely, compositions by local musicians tended to be less fluent; discussing the anthem 'Hear my prayer, O Lord', from a collection by John and James Green (2<sup>nd</sup> ed, 1713), Temperley comments that 'The music does not satisfy the expectations of a

<sup>50</sup> Drage, 'A Reappraisal of Provincial Church Music', 174.

<sup>51</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* Vol 2, 75. For full score, see Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* Vol 2, 78-79.



cultivated listener of the time; it has long static sections followed by bursts of activity, stark and unexplained dissonances, and suggestions of archaic modality.<sup>52</sup>

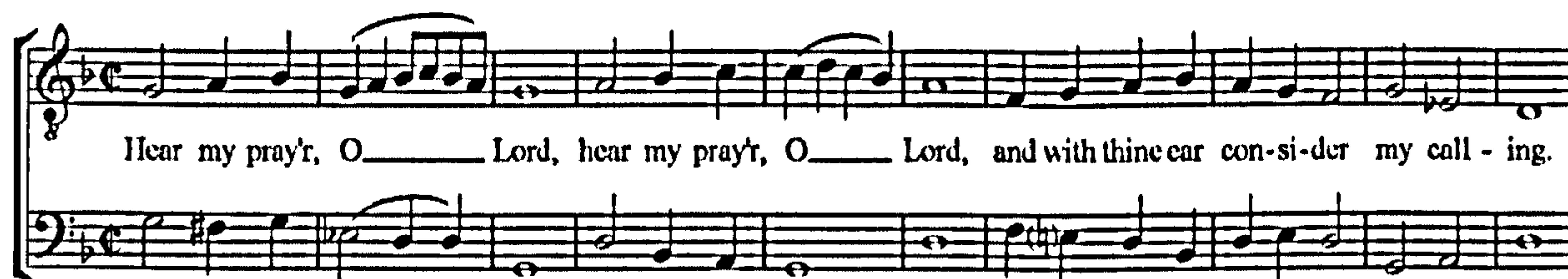


Figure I-5: John or James Green (?) 'Hear my prayer, O Lord', bars 1-10

Archaisms were common in anthems written by amateur local composers, who frequently placed the melody in the tenor and emphasised the linear character of the writing rather than the homophonic texture.

Some rural psalmody includes false relations, consecutive and open fifths, and strange dissonances, precisely because the melodic links were considered to be more important than the harmonic implications. Country composers still used the Renaissance form of linear composition, and while the air and bass may work well together, additional parts caused problems.<sup>53</sup>

The composition and performance practice of music for country choirs and congregations were frequently subject to anomalous and confusing musical conventions concerning the vocal scoring and use of clefs. Unlike contemporary Baroque practice, much country psalmody retained the practice of placing the melody in the tenor part, often scored in the tenor C-clef. This characteristic has been attributed to an unwillingness to allow women to lead the singing, a problem

<sup>52</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* 164.

<sup>53</sup> Drage, 'A Reappraisal of Provincial Church Music', 177.

circumvented in town churches through the use of charity choirs: 'The social dominance of men was clearly reflected by this musical imbalance.'<sup>54</sup>

Congregational psalmody nonetheless remained a feature of country parish worship, often led by the choir, who would learn the psalm tunes in harmony and introduce new tunes to the congregation. The style of psalm tune and its reception by the congregation varied; while choirs were sometimes keen to introduce more complex tunes, these were resisted by the congregation, as they often made musical demands that seemed to exclude them, such as melismas and lively, complex rhythmic patterns. As such complex tunes developed, the practice of the tenor part carrying the melody was largely replaced by varying textures of solo and duet writing, and fully scored tunes, with elaborate tenor parts. The ultimate development of such tunes was the fusing tune, with imitative entries and some obscuration of the text, as different parts entered at different times, a characteristic that emphasised musical complexity more than textual clarity: 'Thus the text would be obscure to some extent, and might be difficult to hear, and moreover the passage might not fit well when the tune was used for other verses of the psalm.'<sup>55</sup> These tunes proved controversial, as they often deprived the congregation of the ability to participate in psalmody, which had been an important aspect of corporate worship: 'people were now compelled to choose: they could join the choir and learn to sing from notes, or they could listen in silence.'<sup>56</sup>

Overall, country psalmody reflects considerably different musical tastes, abilities, practices and conventions from that of its urban counterpart. Similar issues, such as the respective roles of choir and congregation were common, but manifested

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<sup>54</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* 185.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. 173.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. 171.



themselves differently, due to the social, educational and musical make-up of the country congregations. Composers and practitioners were generally more limited in their abilities, which resulted in a large corpus of music of uneven quality; some composers were content to write within their limitations but others attempted more complex works, which often displayed technical errors and awkward writing. Archaisms such as tenor-melody textures and rules of *musica ficta* persisted, while other considerations, such as the treatment of dissonance, verbal accentuation and rhythmic conventions were often inconsistent.

Nonetheless, such music constituted a substantial part of corporate worship, social activity and musical education in the country churches and communities of the eighteenth century, and despite its lack of musical sophistication, country psalmody was popular among churchgoers and represented a distinctive form of religious expression.

### ***Dissenting Worship and Music***

Religious expression outside of the Established Church also took various forms in the eighteenth century, with different emphases resulting from differing views on Scripture, Sacraments and formal liturgy. Singing occupied an important place in many such acts of worship, though the use and understanding of the place of psalmody and hymnody often differed significantly from Anglican practice. Quakers and Baptists had long been outside Established religion, but Independents and Presbyterians, descended from the Puritan heritage, were affected greatly by religious and intellectual changes in the eighteenth century. Independents largely retained an orthodox Calvinist theology, though strongly influenced by rational and apologetic

trends, according to the intellectual background of any particular minister; however, hymnody stabilised this rationalism:

the hymns of Isaac Watts counterbalanced in the Independent congregations the tendency to over-value the rational, apologetic, and argumentative sermons, and served as creeds which the congregations sang. Biblically based, with a strong theological structure, these hymns and the covenants to which every member of an Independent Meeting subscribed on admission to the church formed the bonds of orthodoxy.<sup>57</sup>

The emerging importance of hymns in Dissenting worship in the early eighteenth century was partially a result of the increasing rationalisation of religious thought. This shift reflected the Deist view of man's capacity to reason, taken up, in part, by Calvinistic Independents and Presbyterians. Subjective expressions of religious belief and commitment also featured in Dissenting worship, representing a shift from the purely scriptural psalm paraphrases of the seventeenth century; Isaac Watts' most famous hymn, 'When I survey the wondrous cross' exemplifies this new type of hymnody, relating personal devotion and belief to historical aspects of doctrine and dogma.

Within the Baptist, Independent and Presbyterian traditions, hymns and psalms were used in a similar way, though concerns were raised in some Baptist circles about the appropriateness or validity of singing in corporate worship. General Baptists were slower to accept the place of hymnody in worship than their Particular (Calvinistic) Baptist counterparts. Concerns were raised as to whether non-believers should be able to join in worship in this way: 'The fact that voices of believers were mingled

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<sup>57</sup> Davies, *Worship and Theology in England: From Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850* 94-95.



with those of unbelievers appears to have been a serious hindrance to some who declared that this 'way of singing' was 'wholly unwarrantable from the Word of God'.<sup>58</sup> In 1733 and 1735 the Assembly of General Baptists cited biblical precedence for singing psalms in worship and thus affirmed diversity of practice:

The churches had been urged to adopt realistic attitudes about such points of difference: as 'things appear in different lights to different persons, such a concord' as the traditionalists demanded 'is rather to be desired than expected in this world'. In that the biblical view on such issues 'does not appear clear to us all', there must be room for variation of conviction.<sup>59</sup>

Within the various forms of Dissenting, Non-Conformist worship, one may therefore observe both similarities to and differences from Anglican practices and understanding. The use of congregational song, particularly when derived from the Psalms, as an expression of corporate praise, was a common feature, though the additional function of hymnody as a replacement for formulaic liturgical texts was distinctively Non-conformist. Musically, the two traditions were broadly congruent, making use of pre-existing metrical psalm tunes, familiar to many within their congregations. Music was also a source of debate and division within each tradition; however, the debates were rather different, as within the Church of England, they were often concerned with practical or aesthetic musical considerations, whereas within the Dissenting groups, the validity of music itself as a form of religious expression was questioned. Nonetheless, it must be understood as a vital part of this spiritual life of Dissenting Christians, provoking strong reactions but also receiving widespread use as a means of devotion, praise and affirmation.

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<sup>58</sup> Raymond Edward Brown, *The English Baptists of the Eighteenth Century* (A History of the English Baptists, London: Baptist Historical Society, 1986) 58.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid. 59.

## ***Summary***

Religious life in eighteenth-century Britain was clearly a multi-faceted, richly diverse culture, with tensions between tradition and reform at all levels, principally through the emergence of a rational approach to religious thought and the increased prosperity of many citizens in urban settings. Music played an increasingly important role in religious expression and was subject to the same challenges and arguments.

Methodism's emergence in the second quarter of the century needs to be understood against this complex backdrop and the place of hymnody in its work and mission must be interpreted in the light of contemporary trends and developments.



## II. Music, Theology, and Religious Practice

The close relationship between music and the church has long been acknowledged, in particular the church's influence in shaping compositional trends, aesthetic considerations and performance practice across a vast spectrum of historical and religious contexts. Music's roots in the Christian Church are readily traced back to the Old and New Testaments and Jewish tradition, as Basil Smallman notes: 'Since the first Christians were Jews, it is not surprising that the music they adopted for their church assemblies was taken directly from synagogue rites, in particular the unaccompanied singing of psalms and canticles.'<sup>1</sup> Throughout the history of the church and across its many different expressions, church authorities have frequently sought to either justify or prohibit the use of particular musical forms or genres by citing scriptural precedent; such discussions have also informed performance practice, participation in music-making, the role of designated musicians and the use of instruments in the church's worship.

The vast corpus of church music has naturally resulted in the proliferation of studies of specific repertoires, composers and musical styles associated with various expressions of religious practice along with consideration of music's function within worship. However, exploration of the religious and theological significance of music in relation to a particular expression of Christianity is a more recent development that requires further attention. Although music is widely perceived as an important and prominent feature of Christian worship, attempts to understand its particular musical characteristics as an integrated part of religious activity have only emerged through

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<sup>1</sup> Basil Smallman, 'Church Music', in Denis Arnold (ed.), *The New Oxford Companion to Music* (1; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 387-97 388.

recent interdisciplinary studies. The introductory section of Smallman's entry on 'Church Music' in *The New Oxford Companion to Music* typifies the traditional understanding of music as a central feature of Christian worship, but one that remains extraneous to the theological significance of that worship: 'Because of its long association with Jewish sacred rites, and its ample and favourable recognition in the Old Testament, music gained ready acceptance from the earliest Christians as an essential adjunct to worship.'<sup>2</sup>

Robin Leaver challenges this attitude towards music in relation to the Bible and theology, arguing that music has a unique role in conveying theological messages, although still stressing the subservient nature of music in this relationship, without attributing it theological significance of its own:

Music and theology are interrelated and interdependent. The Bible is concerned with practical theology, the understanding and explanation of the interaction between God and man, and also with practical music, the accompaniment to that interaction. Theology prevents music from becoming an end in itself by pointing man to its origins – in the doxology of creation. Music prevents theology from becoming a purely intellectual matter by moving the heart of man to consider its ultimate purpose – the doxology of the new creation.<sup>3</sup>

The prevalence of music within almost all forms of Christian worship and the appropriation of particular styles, genres and practices by different religious traditions throughout the history of Christianity demand that music be assessed as a thoroughly integrated feature of a particular form of religious expression; only then can the

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 387.

<sup>3</sup> Robin A. Leaver, 'The Theological Character of Music in Worship', in Robin A. Leaver, James H. Litton, and Carlton R. Young (eds.), *Duty and Delight, Routley Remembered: A Memorial Tribute to Erik Routley, 1917-1982, Ministry, Church Music, Hymnology* (Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Co., 1985), 47-66, 49.



significance of the association between specific musical repertoires and religious groups be fully understood. Lawrence E. Sullivan argues that religious music offers a unique insight into the variety of elements that interact to form a religious tradition, including historical attributes, cultural expressions, and considerations of race, class, gender, politics, law and social organization: 'These elements and more are found embedded in religious musics and transported within their performed expressions.' Thus, he argues, the study of these facets of religious music can lead to 'an enlarged appreciation of the amazing range of realities that religious music draws within the social compass and orchestrates on the cultural stage in order to provoke contemplation or critical reflection.'<sup>4</sup>

The term 'Church music' also raises significant problems; in a literal sense, it may be understood as an all-encompassing term for all musical genres and music-making activities that take place within the context of Christian worship, but the many distinctions of style, genre and practice that exist within the church render any attempt to formulate a theoretical framework for interpreting church music in terms of its theological significance futile; the impulse for understanding a particular branch of church music must come from its cultural, historical and theological context within a specific religious tradition. The great diversity of musical forms associated with the church makes it abundantly clear that to understand the music of a particular branch of the church requires detailed engagement with the theological values underpinning it.

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<sup>4</sup> Lawrence Eugene Sullivan, 'Enchating Powers: An Introduction', in Lawrence Eugene Sullivan (ed.), *Enchanting Powers: Music in the World's Religions* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Center for the Study of World Religions, 1997), 1-14, 10.

## ***Music and Religious Practice***

To understand the music of a particular religious group within the context of their theological standpoint requires engagement both with the precise musical characteristics of the repertoire in question and the defining features of the group's theological position. In order to relate the two, a broader consideration of musical and theological parallels and interconnections is first necessary. Recent interdisciplinary scholarship has begun to address these issues, both from theological and musicological standpoints; discussion of these developments will illustrate that exploring such relationships is fruitful both in offering greater insights into particular musics and also in understanding the significance of particular forms of religious expression. However, such studies also highlight the need to address these issues at the more localised level of a specific religious tradition and the music associated with it, but to do so will require adaptation of these broad models to incorporate particular repertoires. Philip Bohlman argues cogently for the need to interpret music and religion at a local level in order to understand it contextually:

Whereas considerable recent research in cultural studies theorizes local culture through its ultimate connections to global forces, I contend here that musical and religious practice cannot be reduced simply to evidence for processes occurring at great distance from the rituals and everyday conditions that instantiate religion and music. In this sense, music and religion both depend on performance and the agents that bring it about.... Local religious meaning emerges only through active participation and the experience upon which practice depends. Through ritual and the performance of liturgical texts, music broadens the possibilities for participation and experience. Music enhances the everyday aspects of religious practice, thereby localizing it.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Philip V. Bohlman, 'World Musics and World Religions: *Whose World?*' Ibid., 61-90, 69.



The role of music in religious practice frequently represents significant attempts among believers to engage with the object of their belief. Quentin Faulkner uses the term 'world-conscious' to describe corporate religious beliefs and cultic practices, arguing that adherence to a religious community impels all believers to engage in such practices.<sup>6</sup> He claims that elements of human activity and experience of the world may reflect and embody aspects of the divine, taking on a 'sacramental' nature:

Anything in the world of the senses may potentially serve as a channel through which the divine manifests itself, anything may act as a bridge from the other world to this: elements of nature (storms, animals, the beauty of nature), artifacts (idols, the Ark of the Covenant, music, bread and wine), human words and actions (an embrace, a sign or word of blessing), or human beings themselves (god-kings, the messiah). The potential of the divine for using the created order to reveal itself, for making creation transparent to divine being and will, may be referred to as the "sacramental principle", or more simply as sacrament.<sup>7</sup>

The significance of artistic expression within religious practice, argues Faulkner, is that it is commonly understood as a spiritual gift, and used as an offering in response to the perceived presence of the deity:

All words, music, ritual movement – all art forms – have a spiritual significance, because there is understood to be a fundamental continuity between the spiritual and the physical world, and all of life is lived in the consciousness of that larger reality.... For world-conscious people there is urgent reason to sing and to make all kinds of music, and there is pressing cause to

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<sup>6</sup> Quentin Faulkner, *Wiser Than Despair: The Evolution of Ideas in the Relationship of Music and the Christian Church* (Contributions to the Study of Music and Dance, Westport, CT, London: Greenwood, 1996). Using Sigmund Mowinckel's definition of 'cult', Faulkner describes it as a more intense connotation of 'worship', of vital importance for the community at large rather than merely individual believers. 4-5.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 7.

value music, because it is both a primary sign of blessing and well-being and a primary instrument in the creation of blessing and well-being.<sup>8</sup>

He goes on to argue that the use of music in response to an experience of the deity emerges from an 'emotional and nonrational' source,<sup>9</sup> and has been developed into a codified form for communal use. Religious song is highlighted in Faulkner's argument as one of the key expressions of corporate religious belief and practice, as it focuses not merely on the needs of the individual believer, but relates them to the experiences of the wider community of believers:

Because world-conscious living is primarily communal, being rooted in the family, tribe, or people, music normally has a superpersonal, communal significance. It does not express primarily the thoughts or feelings of a single individual, but of an individual (or individuals) within the life of the larger community.<sup>10</sup>

Robin Leaver sums up this understanding of the significance of music in worship to the community of believers, 'Music in worship is the language of faith, the response of the redeemed to the grace of God.'<sup>11</sup>

Both the precise qualities and associated practices of religious music, as discussed by Bohlman and Faulkner, raise important questions concerning the theological understanding of music and its place within religious life. At a localised level, the nature of the music itself and the circumstances in which it is used must be considered in relation to the broader practices and beliefs of the religious community, in order to

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 8.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. Faulkner connects the human cries of fear, shouts for help, and groans of pain with singing a plea for divine mercy, and cries of joy and delight with sung prayers of thanksgiving.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Leaver, 'The Theological Character of Music in Worship', 52.



understand both how the music responds to such beliefs and practices and how it helps to formulate them.

## ***Music and Theology***

The vital role music plays in many forms of religious expression, and its widely perceived affective qualities make the relationship of music and theology a particularly rich area of enquiry concerning the expression of religious sentiments, emotions or beliefs and engagement with theological principles and concepts.

The interconnectedness of music and theology is illustrated by Jeremy Begbie at the outset of *Theology, Music and Time*: 'My guiding conviction in this book is that music can serve to enrich and advance theology, extending our wisdom about God, God's relation to us and to the world at large.'<sup>12</sup> Implicit in this statement is the significance of music within the context of worship, the very function of which is to express aspects of individual and corporate religious faith. Begbie's focus is on temporality, both in a tangible, physical sense and in relation to theological conceptions of time; music, he argues, is able to embrace both aspects:

Music offers a particular form of participation in the world's temporality and in so doing, we contend, it has a distinctive capacity to elicit something of the nature of this temporality and our involvement with it. Here we try to show how the experience of music can serve to open up features of a distinctively *theological* account of created temporality, redeemed by God in Jesus Christ, and what it means to live in and with time as redeemed creatures.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Jeremy S. Begbie, *Theology, Music and Time* (Cambridge Studies in Christian Doctrine, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) [3].

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 6-7.

Begbie does not relate his arguments to music in the context of worship, but uses other musical genres to illustrate points of connection between musical and theological conceptions of time. As a result, several of the parallels and relationships he discusses are of limited value to a study of the music of a particular religious tradition, though the broader principles that he identifies may be profitably applied to music, irrespective of style or genre, and can thus inform an understanding of the theological role of music within worship. The overarching attitude towards music in relation to theology that he seeks to foster is that it 'has significant potential to help us discover, understand and expound theological truth, to the advantage of theology and the deepening of our knowledge of God.'<sup>14</sup>

### **Temporality in Music and Theology<sup>15</sup>**

Begbie uses four facets of music's temporality as illustrative of two main theological considerations of time, as borne out in the New Testament writings that emphasise the significance of Christ's life, death and resurrection for all time, arguing that 'due weight should be given, first, to the reality of time as intrinsic to God's creation and, second, to the essentially positive character of time as part of God's 'good ordering' of the world.'<sup>16</sup> Rather than temporality being interpreted as evidence of the fallenness of humanity, he argues that music illustrates that temporality can bring a sense of ordered change rather than chaos, through the conventional rhythmic organisation of music, with points of reference and emphasis within a continuously changing existence:

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid. 8.

<sup>15</sup> Begbie draws his musical illustrations from Western 'tonal music'

<sup>16</sup> Begbie, *Theology, Music and Time* [71]. Begbie specifically refers to the letters to the Colossians and the Ephesians and the Revelation of St John: 'The one 'through whom' all things were created (Col. 1:17), is 'the firstborn of all creation... the beginning, the firstborn of the dead' (Col. 1:15, 18), the one in whom God 'gathered up' all things (Eph. 1:10f.), 'the first and the last, and the living one' (Rev. 1:17-18.).



'Music shows us in a particularly potent way that dynamic order is possible, that there can be ordered being and becoming, form and vitality, structure and dynamics, flux and articulation. For something to be subject to persistent change need not imply disorder.'<sup>17</sup>

Furthermore, the necessity of time in musical performance and reception emphasises that patience and waiting can be fruitful and that different elements of creation take different amounts of time to be fully realised; in theological terms, this reinforces an understanding of God's control of temporality rather than viewing it as subject to human manipulation: 'In short, we are liberated from the destructive illusion that we are supposed to be God.'<sup>18</sup>

This second positivist understanding of temporality is extended in Begbie's third musical illustration, which uses the complexity of temporal organisation within music as evidence for 'the diversity God bestows on his creation'.<sup>19</sup> Musically, the complexity of temporal relationships within a piece, such as strong-weak beat patterns within individual bars and within and between phrases can create and sustain interest and distinctiveness as they occur concurrently; within creation, Begbie argues, the different time-structures of living things are 'intrinsically bound up with the constitution of entities themselves and are intended for good.'<sup>20</sup>

The final and most significant point of Begbie's parallels between musical and theological temporality seeks to affirm the transient nature of earthly existence by emphasising the transience of music that is necessary for it to be comprehended.

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid. 85-86.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 89.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

Music, unlike other art forms such as poetry or fiction, cannot readily refer to elements beyond its own transient state; rather, it relies on this very transience to be understood in terms of the relation of musical tones to each other in a finite period of time. In theological terms, Begbie refers to Karl Barth's argument that finite existence is beneficial, as it allows humanity to reach its fullness in God's eternity, rather than in 'endless time': 'music can serve as a means of discovering afresh and articulating the theological truth that limited duration can be beneficial, and as such, an expression of divine generosity.'<sup>21</sup> He argues that these four aspects of music's temporality serve to affirm a positive theological understanding of human temporality in relation to God's eternal existence as Creator, Redeemer and Sustainer, and that such an understanding may explain 'some of the reasons why music has so persistently been drawn into the purposes of God in the life of the Church.'<sup>22</sup>

## Music, Theology and Cultural Connections

Begbie's discussion of music's temporal existence places it directly within a cultural context, as the significance of music in a theological sense is only realised through its performance. Bohlman also highlights the importance of establishing the cultural context of religious musics in order to understand their significance for the particular group of believers. Jon Michael Spencer's *Theological Music: Introduction to Theomusicology* offers a three-fold model for interpreting music's relation to religion and culture under the headings of Sacred, Secular and Profane.<sup>23</sup> He offers an analytical approach to religious music 'within the limits of what is normative in the

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid. 93.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 97.

<sup>23</sup> According to Spencer, 'Theomusicology's researches into cultural and intercultural reflections on the ethical, the religious, and the mythological involves the study of music created, performed, and listened to in the domain or communities of the sacred (the religious), the secular (the theistic unreligious), and the profane (the atheistic unreligious). Jon Michael Spencer, *Theological Music: Introduction to Theomusicology* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991) [xi].



ethics, religion, or mythology of the community of believers being studied.’<sup>24</sup> While the categories of Sacred and Profane represent obviously polarised attitudes towards religious belief, Spencer argues that the central, connecting category, the Secular, allows a fuller insight into belief systems of particular cultures, as transmitted through their music: ‘Theomusicology is able to recognize aspects of sacrality in the sphere and the music of the secular.’<sup>25</sup> He develops his model using an Augustinian framework in which elements of the Secular overlap with both the Sacred and the Profane; the Church clearly has its roots within the Sacred, but is also a worldly entity, thus overlapping with the Secular. Although those who live within the Secular sphere<sup>26</sup> may come into contact with the Church, Secular culture also uses distinctive forms of popular music to express its values and beliefs; thus, interactions between the Sacred and Secular and associated musics are of particular interest in assessing ways in which religious groups engage with wider cultural beliefs and practices. Spencer suggests that ‘if a particular music being performed or listened to is sacred, then it is an objectification of the deity’s will embodied in the person’, defining sacred music as ‘the musico-behavioral objectification of the will of the religious for the sole edification of the deity and those who maintain the sacred gathering place’ while secular music represents ‘the musico-behavioral objectification of the will of the unreligious for the edification of the secular world and its values’.<sup>27</sup>

This interpretation of different types of music raises important questions for the role of music within the worshipping life of the church. Although most obviously within the Sacred domain, as an expression of praise, worship or other religious sentiment,

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid. 4.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 12.

<sup>26</sup> According to Spencer’s Augustinian framework, those who are ‘in agreement’ with the church but are nonetheless outside its confines, though not avowedly irreligious.

<sup>27</sup> Spencer, *Theological Music: Introduction to Theomusicology* 39-40.

the music of the church, like the church itself, is not isolated from contact with the Secular and must surely reflect this engagement between the two spheres. Spencer's model highlights the need for cultural, religious and musical contextualisation of religious musics in order to understand their significance within a particular religious community and as representations of the ways in which that community attempts to engage with those beyond its immediate confines. In particular, it highlights the necessity of enquiry into the relationship between texts and music used in a religious context, for while the religiosity of the text may be overtly presented, the nature and origin of the music with which it is associated needs to be assessed in terms of its situation within the interconnected spheres of Sacred and Secular. This may have an impact on the understanding and reception of the music both within the religious community and the wider secular society in which it is situated, illustrating that the cultural context of religious music cannot be confined to the theological precepts of the particular community but must also take into account aspects of secular musical practices, trends and understanding.

The need to study music within its localised cultural context is emphasised by Trevor Herbert in a comparison of attitudes to music history and social history from a postmodern perspective: 'musical practices are usually dependent on social, economic, and cultural interactions traversing a wider terrain than is immediately occupied by the music makers.'<sup>28</sup> He argues that microhistories may go beyond the contextual level to reveal fundamental connections between the music of a given social group and the wider musical and cultural history of the period: 'Thus [microhistories] often disclose something of the relationship between the popular and

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<sup>28</sup> Trevor Herbert, 'Social History and Music History', in Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert, and Richard Middleton (eds.), *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction* (New York, London: Routledge, 2003), 146-56, 150.



the elite so as to inform a wider historical picture.’<sup>29</sup> The implications of this approach for the study of music and religion are obvious; as well as serving a subsidiary function in allowing expressions of religion to be realised, religious music at a localised level may reveal defining features peculiar to a group’s theological or spiritual standpoint. Discussing the same idea, Richard Evans describes the benefit of microhistories: ‘they build on the obscure and unknown rather than on the great and the famous... [They] take very small incidents in everyday life and retell them as stories, analysing them as metaphorical and symbolic clues to larger things.’<sup>30</sup> Interpreted in terms of the study of religious music, particularly when limited to the repertoire of a specific denomination, this method demands that the music not be considered simply as a useful adjunct to the communication of religious beliefs, but rather as symptomatic of those very beliefs through its stylistic features, use and performance. Furthermore, such study may offer indications of how the religious community establishes connections with the wider community and conveys its religious message; according to Herbert, ‘Such histories might focus on the experience of individuals and groups in order to understand the larger social mass.’<sup>31</sup> Within the context of communicating religious beliefs, the music associated with the religious group takes on theological significance as an expression of the particular theological understanding and religious message being espoused.

If the music of a religious group is to be understood as theologically significant, its cultural context and precise structural, compositional features need to be assessed in relation to other, lest the music is simply viewed as a homogeneous corpus, significant only in fulfilling a supplementary purpose in enabling other elements of religious

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 152.

<sup>30</sup> Richard J. Evans, *In Defence of History* (London: Granta, 1997) 245.

<sup>31</sup> Herbert, ‘Social History and Music History’, 154.

expression to take place. John Shepherd argues the necessity of assimilating situational and structural aspects of music to gain a fuller understanding of its cultural significance; he claims that 'the structural elements of music – harmonic, melodic, rhythmic, and timbral – can speak directly to the structures of social, cultural and individual realities'<sup>32</sup>

## Theology and Hymnody

In *Praying Twice: The Music and Words of Congregational Song*,<sup>33</sup> Brian Wren attempts to explain the theological significance of hymnody in terms of the combination of text and music and its participatory nature. He argues that hymnody's success as a popular religious expression is due to the combination of text and music, and although the text carries the explicit theological message, the role of the music in ensuring the appeal and success of hymnody cannot be underestimated: 'It seems clear that part of the "meaning" of congregational song lies in the appeal of its music. Evidently, the tune has its own work to do, not independently of its lyric, but autonomously in relation to it.'<sup>34</sup> Elements of Wren's argument also echo Begbie's claim that music can give theological affirmation to change and the transient nature of life, as he describes the significance of the progression and movement of song:

Its progressions are perceived by the brain as "movement" and can themselves enable movement. On a small scale, the tunes people sing in worship mimic bodily movements and the ebb and flow of emotional states. They have the power – at least potentially – to give

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<sup>32</sup> John Shepherd, 'Music and Social Categories', *Ibid.*, 69-79, 77. Shepherd cites Richard Middleton's definition of the situational: 'the deepest, the organic structures of a social formation'. 76

<sup>33</sup> Brian A. Wren, *Praying Twice: The Music and Words of Congregational Song* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2000).

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* 68.



meaningful, flowing progression to life's chaos: to beautify and elevate our purposeful but uncoordinated activities; and to mimic the flow of emotion.<sup>35</sup>

The small-scale form of the hymn tune, with its clear and regular metrical structure creates a degree of predictability, which Wren posits as a strong factor in the popular appeal of such tunes; this predictability of movement is closely aligned with Begbie's description of dynamic order in music. In miniature form, the hymn tune exhibits the characteristics described by Begbie, offering, at its best, a clear sense of beginning, progression and development, in both tonal and thematic terms, and a return to the original tonal area, bringing closure to the form; this basic pattern may contain elements of tension and resolution, repetition and surprise: 'It can momentarily perfect the emotional life of its singers, transmute ugliness into beauty, and impart dignity to undignified experience. Familiar and well-loved tunes give, in addition, the joy of the expected surprise and the assurance of a good story retold.'<sup>36</sup> This constantly changing nature of the hymn tune can respond to both the condition of the singer or hearer and to the story that unfolds through successive verses of the text. However, both the predictability of the miniature form and the repetition of one musical entity for several verses of text counterbalance this constant movement by creating a sense of stability and familiarity: 'As a musical event unfolding through time, a congregational song can give an experience of meaningful progression and mimic the flow of emotion, as singers chart its beginning, development, and completion.'<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. 70.

Wren also discusses music's ability, particularly through hymnody, to be both expressive and evocative, and the theological significance of balancing these qualities; music may be used to respond to a particular emotion or situation or to evoke an emotion; he argues that while familiarity may have a positive impact in enhancing the experience of corporate singing, music's evocative quality should also be used to ensure that sentimentality is avoided and that the hymnody embodies a significant and relevant religious or theological message for the situation in which it is to be used. The theological significance of this is clear; hymnody, through its very familiarity and ability to engage the worshipping community, must be used across the gamut of religious experiences and emotions and to reflect all aspects of the faith being communicated; failure to do so diminishes its effectiveness and integrity as a memorable and powerful form of theological communication. Sentimentality through hymnody may result, argues Wren, in 'a failure to sing up to the full theology and experience of the congregation and resistance to new musical selections and new forms of music.'<sup>38</sup>

Wren describes church music as 'Functional Art', which reinforces his argument that it should not be used merely for pleasure: 'The autonomous power of song tunes reminds us that congregational song, like church music in general, is a functional art, meaning that congregational songs are sung during the church's ordinary and festive activities, to add intensity to them and express their significance.'<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid. 73.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. 76. His definition of functional art is not intended to lessen the significance or discredit the quality of the music, rather to emphasise that it must always be used 'to serve the purposes of God.' Citing Don Hustad, *Jubilate II: Church Music in Worship and Renewal* (Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1993) 22.



## Theology and the Relationship between Text and Music

Wren describes the strong connection between certain tunes and texts and presents a system for categorising the relationship between the two elements of a hymn, but offers only indicative examples of each category with some subjective analysis and no objective principles for ascertaining these qualities in individual hymns.<sup>40</sup> The most positive category is labelled 'Unity', in which 'music is well matched to its text and permits greater meaning and insight to be gained from the hymn.'<sup>41</sup> In this category, the interaction of text and music clearly takes on theological significance in its ability to convey the meaning of the hymn in a more significant manner than either the text or music alone can achieve. In Don Hustad's terms 'the music dramatizes, explains, underlines, 'breathes life' into the words, resulting in more meaning than the words themselves could express.'<sup>42</sup> Wren provides some indication of features that should be apparent in this 'Unity': the stress patterns of the text should be matched in the music, and the sense of the text should influence features of performance such as dynamics and tempo. However, these are only very basic tenets of hymnody that could easily be applied to many pairings of text and music and offer little insight into the way in which the theological significance of the hymn is heightened by the use of a particular musical setting. Wren's argument implies that specific musical characteristics need to be considered, such as the correlation of stress patterns, but his discussion makes no reference to the more individualised features of a hymn tune, such as its harmonic structure, thematic construction and development and precise rhythmic patterns; the subtle nuances of such facets of a tune may be related in much

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<sup>40</sup> Wren's five categories are *Disconnection*, *Opposition*, *Compatibility*, *Liftoff* and *Unity*.

<sup>41</sup> Wren, *Praying Twice: The Music and Words of Congregational Song* 78.

<sup>42</sup> Hustad, *Jubilate II: Church Music in Worship and Renewal* 25-26.

closer detail to specific textual points within the hymn and may provide a clearer understanding of the bond between music and text than that offered by Wren's model.

In summing up the theological significance of congregational song, Wren details several 'Hallmarks', which he argues makes this form of religious expression indispensable: 'Congregational song is by nature corporate, corporeal, and inclusive; at its best, it is creedal, ecclesial, inspirational, and evangelical. Each characteristic is theologically important.'<sup>43</sup> The corporate nature of congregational song is evident in the necessity of the congregation adopting a common tempo and listening to each other; Wren argues that this makes the theological statement 'We are the body of Christ', and represents the unity of the church: 'Though we do not submerge our identity in the crowd, singing together brings us together, demonstrating how we belong to one another in Christ.'<sup>44</sup>

The act of joining in corporate congregational song can also express a theological affirmation on the part of the individual believer, aligning themselves with the theological message or doctrinal position of a particular religious group, as communicated through its hymnody. Robin Leaver relates the desirability of corporate music in worship to the understanding of the theological concept of the priesthood of all believers; Leaver defines the congregation in theological terms as 'the whole people of God' and argues that 'The priesthood of all believers means that all elements of worship should serve the needs of the whole corporate body, and this includes music.'<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Wren, *Praying Twice: The Music and Words of Congregational Song* 84.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. 84-85.

<sup>45</sup> Leaver, 'The Theological Character of Music in Worship', 58.



The corporeal nature of congregational song is most obviously apparent in the physical bodily action required for singing; Wren connects this with the Biblical affirmation of the flesh and body as part of God's good creation<sup>46</sup> and claims that enthusiastic congregational song is the most physically involved aspect of worship, arguing that 'When body attitude combines with deepest beliefs, singers are taken out of themselves into a heightened awareness of God, beauty, faith, and one another.'<sup>47</sup> The inclusiveness of congregational song is closely associated with its corporate and corporeal nature, but also reflects the ability of each member of the congregation to participate, irrespective of musical skill or experience. Wren argues that everyone should be allowed to participate in congregational song, in order to clearly express the theological message of unity among believers: 'Inclusivity in song is a theological value, a corollary of unity. A congregation cannot demonstrate its unity in Christ if people are shut out from its song.'<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, he posits that placing the primary emphasis on song being an expression of joy through faith rather than striving only for musical excellence ensures that the role of song in worship remains focussed on presenting an offering to God rather than becoming a performance for other members of the congregation.

Wren's second group of Hallmarks are those to which he argues congregational song should aspire. He gives a broad definition of the creedal nature of congregational song, emphasising the important role of music in expressions of belief:

Though ancient and modern creeds can certainly be sung, I am using "creedal" in a wider sense, meaning that congregational song helps us express a believing response in a self-

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<sup>46</sup> Genesis 1:31 and St John 1:14

<sup>47</sup> Wren, *Praying Twice: The Music and Words of Congregational Song* 87.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. 89.

committing way. Thus “creedal” includes praise, thanksgiving, lament, trust, and commitment as well as statements of belief.<sup>49</sup>

The combination of words and music can emphasise this aspect of hymnody by creating a strong association in the minds of listeners, such that the hymn is recalled as a complete entity, rather than music or text alone. Paul Westermeyer comments on this effect of hymnody on a congregation: ‘a group who sings together becomes one and remembers its story, and therefore who it is, in a particularly potent way.’<sup>50</sup>

Familiarity is an important feature in making congregational song a creedal expression, argues Wren, as knowledge of the combination of words and music can allow fresh understandings to emerge. The ecclesial aspect of congregational song draws on both the corporate and inclusive qualities that Wren describes: ‘the corporate inclusiveness of congregational song is *ecclesial*: it declares what the church aims and hopes to be, and reminds the singers of their common faith and hope.’<sup>51</sup> Such song unites the worshipping community with the church in the broadest sense, emphasising its unity in faith throughout history both through the singing of common texts and the reinterpretation of a common faith in new expressions of hymnody for each generation, a concept Wren describes as the ‘spatiotemporal transcendence of congregational song.’<sup>52</sup>

Closely connected to the ecclesial quality of congregational song is its inspirational character, as it can both reflect aspects of the everyday life of believers, but also move beyond the ‘mundane and the ordinary.’<sup>53</sup> It expresses the vitality of the religious

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid. 90.

<sup>50</sup> Paul Westermeyer, *The Church Musician* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1997) 34.

<sup>51</sup> Wren, *Praying Twice: The Music and Words of Congregational Song* 93.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. 94.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. 95.



community; the act of singing the words places them in time, mirroring life itself, and relating the development of religious ideas and theological interpretation through the course of a hymn with the patterns of daily living. Furthermore, congregational song should serve an evangelical function in expressing the religious sentiments of the worshipping community to society at large, reflecting the vitality and confidence of the congregation while also offering an open invitation for participation both in the physical act of singing but also in a spiritual sense by subscribing to the faith expressed in the hymnody of the congregation. Robin Leaver connects this aspect of music in worship with the eschatological vision in the Revelation to St John, chapters four and five: 'Therefore the church music of today proclaims the Word of God to the people of God and enables them to respond to that proclamation in faith and witness.'<sup>54</sup>

Wren concludes his advocacy of congregational song by emphasising its vitality for the religious community in expressing all the theological principles outlined above, arguing that 'because the church's beliefs, inclusiveness, corporate worship, communal nature, universality, and evangelical outreach are theologically important, congregational song is the proper concern of all its members, especially its music leaders, worship leaders, and pastors.'<sup>55</sup> Although Wren's discussion of the qualities of congregational song offers few criteria for assessing the efficacy of individual hymns or even the hymns associated with a particular religious group, it nonetheless emphasises that the significance of such song extends far beyond pragmatic considerations, affecting, informing and expressing fundamental aspects of faith as a strong defining feature of a congregation's religious and theological identity. His

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<sup>54</sup> Leaver, 'The Theological Character of Music in Worship', 60.

<sup>55</sup> Wren, *Praying Twice: The Music and Words of Congregational Song* 97.

description of the necessary and desirable features of congregational song offers a useful, abstracted theological model against which the repertory of particular religious communities can be examined. The ways in which the facets Wren describes are approached, emphasised, included, expressed, or even neglected by a religious community may provide insights into the specific theological emphases and interpretation of that group.

The stylistic features of music and the preferences exhibited by individuals or communities can reflect guiding theological principles, as illustrated by Begbie and others, and when used within the context of congregational song, can be interpreted as an embodiment of the theological or doctrinal position that a group wishes to express or which those in authority wish to communicate both to their own religious community and to those beyond its boundaries. As Wren postulates, 'What if strong congregational singing not only encourages and inspires, but helps form our spirituality and shape our theology? If so, it is of great importance, not only to congregations and music leaders, but to pastors.'<sup>56</sup> Thus, congregational song may also be seen as providing a unique insight into both the officially recognised theological position of a religious community, through its content and particular emphases, but also the way in which the congregation responds to and expresses those beliefs, through the associations of text and music and traditions of performance practice.

## Theology and Song

On a more practical level, Leaver argues that the very act of singing in worship embodies several theological statements and clearly relates to crucial theological

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid. 47.



principles of Christianity. He claims that the Christological and Christocentric nature of the hymns of the New Testament, along with the Christological ordering of the liturgical calendar emphasises that music must be the servant of text in expressing the belief that redemption comes only through Christ:

This annual cycle gives us the opportunity to sing and play in psalms, anthems and hymns, Christological music which simultaneously proclaims the gospel of grace to the assembled congregation and also encourages from each member of the congregation the response of faith.<sup>57</sup>

In Trinitarian terms, argues Leaver, singing and making music in worship can be seen as reflecting the gifts of each part of the Trinity, rejoicing in the salvation offered through the redeeming Son, 'using the natural gifts endowed by the Father and the sanctified gifts bestowed by the Spirit.'<sup>58</sup> Also, as indicated above, song can reflect the doctrine of the Church, particularly through a broad understanding of the worshipping congregation as the Body of Christ. Leaver emphasises the theological significance of this in terms of corporate song and posits a similar understanding to that of Brian Wren, but developing the argument to stress the centrality of the object of worship, not the worshippers: 'Rooted in the people's song church music is not focussed on the gathered congregation: music is but the vehicle of the people of God at worship which is centred on Jesus Christ. He calls the Church together: it is his Body.'<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, the doctrine of the church, and the role of song in expressing it reflects the unity of the church in any particular era with the church throughout all generations, and emphasises that worship, including music, is part of an ongoing

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<sup>57</sup> Leaver, 'The Theological Character of Music in Worship', 55.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 59.

tradition. However, for this tradition to be properly held within the theological framework of the church and its worship, it cannot become moribund, but must reflect the ongoing witness of the Church and assist the proclamation of the Gospel at all times, which Leaver links with the eschatological and evangelical functions and understanding of church music.

## **Summary**

The works of these writers show the rich possibilities of interaction between music and theology, both on a broad scale, and within the context of a specific worshipping community. The theological principles discussed may be examined against the practices and beliefs of specific religious communities and the attitudes towards music in worship expressed by their leaders and members. While focussing on the broad theological principles outlined above, such examination will identify particular emphases and unique characteristics of the religious community, allowing the significance of the relationship between the theological principles and beliefs and the associated musical practices in worship to be assessed and interpreted.

Furthermore, comparison with contemporary trends in other religious communities, when considered in conjunction with the theological and practical relationships between them, may serve to illustrate and explain cultural and religious influences and common or distinct practices, according to the degree of similarity between the beliefs of each community. This contextual work is essential in order to fully understand the theological significance of music in the worship of a specific religious community, which may be the result of a complex web of religious convictions and cultural connections.



The arguments outlined by Wren and Leaver demonstrate that broad, non-denominationally-specific connections can be established between music and theology without delving into localised expressions; thus, the particular interpretation of these connections within a given religious community may to some degree be symptomatic of its theological standpoint, and may even inform it. However, the widespread use of music in worship highlights the necessity of evaluating such developments in relation to other religious communities and their music in order to understand the influences of wider cultural practices, tastes and trends. These provisos aside, if music is held to reflect and inform theological opinion, as discussed, it is an vital consideration in the study of religious communities, their worship, beliefs and principles, and social and cultural engagement.

### **III. The Emergence and Development of Methodism: origins, theology, practice, social context**

The Evangelical Revival and the role of Methodism in the religious, political, cultural and social life of eighteenth-century Britain has been the source of much debate among historians and theologians. Its pious origins, evangelical missionary work, distinctive form of cultural engagement, uneasy relationship with the Church of England, and above all its popularity in many areas of the country have prompted much critical engagement with the early history and development of Methodism, in particular concerning the life and ministry of John Wesley, and also Charles Wesley and George Whitefield.

The early history of Methodism needs to be understood as the history of a religious movement within the Church of England rather than that of a distinct Church; this has critical implications in interpreting its theological emphases and modes of social and cultural engagement. Its initial development as an evangelistic revival movement within the Church of England meant that its efforts and resources were most often used for a limited range of religious activity, supplementing the routine of parish life, rather than attempting to provide an original, comprehensive or separate religious environment. The narrow range of John Wesley's theological writing reflects this most clearly, underlining Methodism's Anglican origins and dependency: 'he selected one vital area of Christian theology which he believed to be neglected, and in its treatment showed himself to be genuinely a systematic theologian....The way of



salvation is the main, virtually the only, content of his published theology.’<sup>1</sup>

Although he wrote, edited and abridged works in a wide range of non-religious subjects, evangelical desire was frequently his guiding principle; commenting on his writings on science and history, Henry Rack argues that ‘Wesley’s approach in all these works, then, was a mixture of instruction, edification and apologetic. He wished to justify the ways of God to men and to build up their piety.’<sup>2</sup>

As the movement was underpinned by a largely orthodox understanding of Christian theology and doctrine, its identity must be interpreted in terms of the relationship between this position and the religious and social practices in which it was engaged. Its dependence on other religious groups and their influence in the formation of distinctive Methodist practices also needs to be recognised and assessed. Ultimately, the practices of the movement need to be understood as theologically significant in their own right, both informed by its theological and doctrinal origins but also critically important in shaping the application and development of these beliefs and realising their implications in the social and cultural contexts of eighteenth-century Britain.

## ***Origins: Formative Experiences in Oxford, Georgia and London***

The very nature of early Methodism as a religious movement means that its origins and foundation can be defined with only limited precision, at best. Crucial events that occurred in the 1730s and 40s are well documented and were doubtless significant in

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<sup>1</sup> Rupert E. Davies, ‘The People Called Methodists: 1. Our Doctrines’, in Rupert E. Davies and Gordon Rupp (eds.), *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain* (1; London: Epworth Press, 1965), 145-80, 147-48.

<sup>2</sup> Henry D. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* (3rd edn., London: Epworth Press, 2002) 349.

defining the movement's ethos and practice, but the gradual spread of Methodism's popularity and its shifting relationship with the Church of England and other religious groups do not allow a specific date or event to be categorised as its definitive commencement. Nevertheless, accounts of the activities of the Wesleys and their associates during this period offer an insight into theological, social and cultural considerations that ultimately shaped much of the movement's thought and practice.

### **Oxford: John Wesley's Ordination and the Holy Club**

John Wesley arrived as an undergraduate at Christ Church, Oxford in 1720 and was largely based in the city until his missionary voyage to America in 1735; ordination followed his studies in 1725, and election as a Fellow of Lincoln College a year later. Wesley's diary begins in 1725, and it is clear that from this time he took a serious interest in religious and spiritual matters. His study regime encompassed theology, Classics, ancient languages, ethics, logic and philosophy; his own views begin to emerge in letters of this period and are often related to his current reading matter. An early indication of his views on salvation and the means of grace can be observed in a letter to his mother, which refers to Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Holy Dying*; Ralph Waller comments that 'He was... unhappy with Taylor's notion that we cannot know if we are forgiven by God. Wesley's argument was that grace comes through Holy Communion, and that this grace cannot be of so little a force that it is impossible to tell if we have received it or not.'<sup>3</sup> Waller identifies Taylor's emphasis on 'purity of intention', Thomas à Kempis's ideas of 'inward religion' in *The Imitation of Christ* and William Law's *Christian Perfection* and *Serious Call* as exerting a profound influence on Wesley and bringing him to the 'realization that giving all his life to God

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<sup>3</sup> Ralph Waller, *John Wesley: A Personal Portrait* (London: SPCK, 2003) 22. Commenting on a letter of 18 June 1725.



would be worthless unless he also gave his heart.’<sup>4</sup> During this time, he was also active as a preacher, delivering sermons at St Mary’s University Church and in parishes around Oxford and near his family home in Epworth, Lincolnshire.

Maldwyn Edwards argues that Wesley’s academic background and rigorous discipline prepared him well for this ministry: ‘as student and then as lecturer he developed a logical faculty which was to make him the more influential both as writer and preacher.’<sup>5</sup> He identifies three aspects of Wesley’s time in Oxford as crucial in shaping his future ministry: the intellectual stimulation and exposure to theological writers, in particular the Cambridge Platonists, his development of a logical writing and preaching style, developed through his study of the Classics and philosophy, and on a practical level, his involvement with the Holy Club.

After spending two years as curate at Wroot in Lincolnshire, at his father’s request, John Wesley returned to Oxford in November 1729, where he found that his younger brother, Charles, had formed a society with Robert Kirkham and William Morgan, founded ‘to deepen their own faith and to assist others’.<sup>6</sup> The members of this society were insultingly referred to as ‘Methodists’ by their contemporaries, mocking their highly disciplined approach to religious devotion and service. John Wesley joined the group, and became its recognised leader, accepting the term ‘Methodist’ and choosing to use it positively, with his own description, ‘A Methodist is one who lives according to the method laid down in the Bible.’<sup>7</sup> The society maintained an active pattern of religious and social service, visiting prisoners, visiting and caring for the poor, sick and children and adopting a frugal approach in their own lives. In religious terms, the

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Maldwyn Edwards, ‘John Wesley’, in Rupert E. Davies and Gordon Rupp (eds.), *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain* (1; London: Epworth Press, 1965), 35-80, 42.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 43-44.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 44. This is a later definition used by Wesley.

members of the society were devout observers of the canons and rubrics of the Church of England; Edwards describes some of the main elements of their beliefs and practices:

They accepted the theory of apostolic succession with its corollary that none had authority to administer the sacraments who was not episcopally ordained. The fasts observed in the primitive Church led them to refrain from taking anything on Wednesdays and Fridays until later than three in the afternoon. They accepted the practice of confession, penance and mortification.... Under Wesley's influence the Holy Club was high-church in the Caroline non-juring sense of that term.<sup>8</sup>

Ralph Waller argues that Wesley's leadership of the Holy Club emphasised three key areas of Christian life, '(1) the central place of Holy Communion and worship; (2) the responsibility of doing good to all; and (3) the importance of the written word for both developing and defending the faith.'<sup>9</sup> Although the Club had little impact on the life of the university, it increased in numbers and activity under John's guidance, but also attracted scorn from members of Christ Church and Lincoln College. Nonetheless, its influence on John Wesley should not be underestimated; in 1734, he wrote of his desire to stay in Oxford, where he believed he could 'most promote holiness'.<sup>10</sup> Henry Rack argues that, in addition to the evident spiritual development evident, Wesley's time in Oxford also served to give him academic and social credibility:

He carried with him, despite his eventual radical change in his relationship to the church, certain things which he could have obtained in no other way: the manners, culture and status of a gentlemen, and a clergyman; the status, too, of a Fellow or 'late Fellow' of Lincoln

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 44-45.

<sup>9</sup> Waller, *John Wesley: A Personal Portrait* 29.

<sup>10</sup> Cited in Edwards, 'John Wesley', 45.



College, which regularly appeared on the title pages of his books. One could not dismiss such a man easily as a mere layman or Dissenter.<sup>11</sup>

## Georgia: the Impact of Moravian Spirituality and Evangelism

Following his father's death in 1735, John Wesley embarked on a missionary voyage to Georgia.<sup>12</sup> The colony had been established by Royal Charter in 1732, with the intention of providing a new home for released British prisoners, under the governorship of James Edward Oglethorpe.<sup>13</sup> John Wesley was initially approached about undertaking missionary work there by Dr John Burton, one of the trustees for the colony, and following meetings with several of the trustees and having sought the opinions of his mother and friends and colleagues, he accepted a stipend as a missionary with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.<sup>14</sup> He left England on board the *Simmonds* on 14 October 1735, together with his brother Charles, who was to serve as Governor Oglethorpe's secretary, Benjamin Ingham and Charles Delamotte. Also on board were 26 Moravian Christians, who were likewise travelling for missionary purposes. John Wesley's account of the voyage has become one of the most dramatic stories of early Methodism; although it cannot be regarded as an isolated, seminal event, it nonetheless offers a vivid insight into Wesley's attitude to faith, and in particular his admiration of the Moravian Christians, which was to be one of the defining features of this period of Wesley's life.

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<sup>11</sup> Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* 105.

<sup>12</sup> His father, Samuel, had written to John during his illness encouraging him to succeed him in the living at Epworth. Despite some indecision following Samuel's death, John ultimately upheld his initial decision to reject the post. Waller, *John Wesley: A Personal Portrait* 31-32.

<sup>13</sup> Henry Rack points out that recent historical enquiry has shown that this plan for Georgia was never properly realised. Nonetheless, its Trustees maintained optimistic plans, which included the spread of religion. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* 107-09.

<sup>14</sup> Waller, *John Wesley: A Personal Portrait* 32-33.

Wesley's admiration of the faith of the Moravian Christians he met on board the *Simmonds* is frequently recorded in his diaries and journal during this period and the enduring influence of Moravian thought and practice is commonly regarded as the most positive aspect of his voyage and missionary work in America. Early in the journey, Wesley made attempts to integrate himself into the life of the Moravian community on board, as noted by Clifford Towlson, 'On 17<sup>th</sup> October, only three days after the voyage had begun, he had set out to learn German in order to converse with 'men who have left all for their Master, and who have indeed learned of Him, being meek and lowly, dead to the world, full of faith and of the Holy Ghost.''<sup>15</sup> His desire to share religious life with them is seen in his comment of 20 October 1735, 'O may we be not only of one tongue, but of one mind and of one heart!'<sup>16</sup>

On arrival in Georgia, Wesley maintained contact with the Moravians and witnessed their behaviour over a period of time, resulting in the following assessment on 24 February 1736,

We had now an opportunity, day by day, of observing their whole behaviour; for we were in one room with them from morning to night, unless for the little time I spent in walking. They were always employed, always cheerful themselves, and in good humour with one another. They had put away all anger and strife and wrath and bitterness and clamour and evil-speaking. They walked worthy of the vocation wherewith they were called, and adorned the gospel of our Lord in all things.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Clifford W. Towlson, *Moravian and Methodist: Relationships and Influences in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Epworth Press, 1957) 38.

<sup>16</sup> Richard P. Heitzenrater and W. Reginald Ward (eds.), *Journal and Diaries I (1735-38)*, Vol. 18, 33 vols. (The Works of John Wesley, Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1988) v. 137.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 150-51.



Both the confines of the ship and the challenge of establishing his own missionary work upon arrival in America allowed Wesley to immerse himself in Moravian communal religious life for a prolonged period of time and were clearly crucial in his absorption of their practices and characteristics. Towlson suggests 'No doubt, as has been suggested, John Wesley, a High Churchman, was drawn towards the Moravians because they seemed to him so closely allied in spirit and practice to the Christians of the first three centuries.'<sup>18</sup>

The time in Georgia was also notable for the production of John Wesley's first hymnbook, *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns* (1737), the contents of which reflected his eclectic religious background and reading, including texts from English Dissenters, Anglicans, Roman Catholics and German Protestants.<sup>19</sup> The book was arranged according to its intended use in acts of worship throughout the week as well as for personal devotion.<sup>20</sup> Waller notes Wesley's strong and critical editorial hand, a trait that was to become a characteristic of many of his publications:

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<sup>18</sup> Towlson, *Moravian and Methodist: Relationships and Influences in the Eighteenth Century* 38. Wesley's interest in the practices of the early or 'primitive' church is well recorded in his Diary and Journal. Rack suggests that John Clayton, who joined the Oxford Holy Club in 1732, may have been an important influence in encouraging this outlook. 'For one thing he reinforced Wesley's determination to be a 'Primitive Christian', a protean concept which for late seventeenth-century High Churchmen meant conforming to the practices as well as the doctrines of the church of the first five centuries. The concept would later take more varied and divisive forms, including those of heterodox Deists and Arians, and for the new-style Methodists of the 1740s something closer to the 'apostolic' patterns of the New Testament.' Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* 90.

<sup>19</sup> Waller notes the inclusion of authors such as Isaac Watts, the Samuel Wesleys Senior and Junior (John's father and older brother, respectively), Joseph Addison, George Herbert and John Austin, a Roman Catholic, as well as five of his own translations of German texts. Waller, *John Wesley: A Personal Portrait* 36.

<sup>20</sup> The three main sections are Psalms and Hymns for Sunday; Psalms and Hymns for Wednesday and Friday; Psalms and Hymns for Saturday. Ibid.

Wesley altered the texts of some hymns – particularly those of Austin and Herbert – generally for the worse; but the book as a whole is a most interesting document, both as an indication of Wesley's thinking at the time, and also as an early example of the use of hymns in worship.<sup>21</sup>

Much of Wesley's time and work in Georgia has been widely regarded as unsuccessful, both in terms of his failure to evangelise effectively to the indigenous population, and also on a personal level, through several disputes and a turbulent relationship with Sophia Hopkey, which brought about the end of his ministry there.<sup>22</sup> However, the congregation in Savannah grew during Wesley's time there, and he succeeded in forming a religious group based on the model of the Oxford Holy Club. In personal terms, several significant elements can be identified,

Wesley's study of the New Testament that he had undertaken in Georgia increased his attachment to the Primitive Church. In his later theology and preaching, the Early Church was a constant reference point. Georgia had also given him an opportunity to develop his interest in hymns, which were to become such an important part of his evangelical mission. He had met the Moravians, and especially August Gottlieb Spangenberg, who had played a key role in his own understanding of the Christian life.'<sup>23</sup>

From the Moravians, he gained not only spiritual insight, but also ideas about the structure of a religious society and the ways in which its members might support, encourage and admonish one another, and seek to spread the Gospel. Particular forms of worship such as the Love Feast and Watchnight Service were to be adopted by Wesley and widely used in Methodist Societies, as will be discussed hereafter;

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid. 36-37.

<sup>22</sup> Waller deals with these aspects of Wesley's time in Georgia in some detail (Ibid. 37-42.), concluding that 'Although Wesley was undoubtedly guilty of acting most unwisely during his acquaintance with Sophia, and especially after her marriage, it would be unfair to accuse him of anything else.' Waller, *John Wesley: A Personal Portrait* 42.

<sup>23</sup> Waller, *John Wesley: A Personal Portrait* 43.



although Wesley had observed a functioning Anglican Religious Society under his father's direction at Epworth, Georgia offered the first insight into a societal model of spirituality that appealed both to his admiration of the Early Church and his evangelical zeal. Although he did not achieve his initial aims of converting the local population and obtaining assurance of his own salvation, leading to an initial downcast analysis of the trip, 'I went to America to convert the Indians; but oh! Who shall convert me?... I have a fair summer religion'<sup>24</sup>, the longer term fruits of this period will become apparent in discussion of the organisation of Methodism, the use of hymnody in its worship and its wider social and cultural engagement.

### The Wesleys' Conversion Experiences

Upon his return to England in February 1738, Wesley perceived a failure to achieve any of his intentions in his work since leaving Oxford. His missionary aspirations had brought only limited success and his time in Georgia had also brought personal and spiritual problems. However, his contact with the Moravians bore fruit in a burgeoning relationship with their community in London. Peter Böhler, a Moravian minister, had a profound influence on Wesley at this time, encouraging him in his preaching and promoting the virtues of simplicity in religion. Henry Rack links Böhler's influence with the decision of several churches in London to refuse Wesley permission to preach: 'Gradually, under Böhler's influence, his preaching included talk of justification, faith and the new birth, and the church began to be closed against him.'<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Heitzenrater and Ward (eds.), *Journal and Diaries I (1735-38)* (24 January, 1738) 211.

<sup>25</sup> Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* 138. Böhler was a special commissioner for the Moravian Church in England and America, having been converted at the court of Nicholas von Zinzendorf. His conversations with Wesley convinced the latter of his lack of true faith, but he was responsible for giving Wesley the advice 'Preach faith *till* you have it; and then *because* you have it you will preach faith.' Cited in Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* 139.

In May of the same year, both John and Charles Wesley recorded conversion experiences, emphasising the knowledge of justification by faith that resulted from these events. On 21 May, Charles experienced the cure of an illness following a visitation, and three days later, John experienced his now famous conversion at a religious society meeting in Aldersgate Street. His *Journal* for 24 May records a thorough examination of his spiritual condition and concludes with his analysis of the personal significance of this event:

In the evening, I went unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ and Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death.<sup>26</sup>

Although this experience has been commonly regarded as the most significant date in early Methodist history, the precise effect it had upon Wesley's life has been widely contested. Far from giving an immediate, definitive assurance of Wesley's faith, his letters reveal continuing doubts throughout 1738, although Waller notes that after expressing some doubts in his *Journal* early in 1739, 'from this moment on he was far less introspective, and the anchor that he had dropped on 24 May seems to have taken a firm hold.'<sup>27</sup> Richard Heitzenrater acknowledges that this event cannot be accepted or rejected outright as a conversion experience. He stresses that 'the primary issue in 1738 for Wesley was that of *assurance*, and the direct tie between assurance and

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<sup>26</sup> John Wesley *Journal* 24 May, 1738, cited in Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* 144.

<sup>27</sup> Waller, *John Wesley: A Personal Portrait* 49.



conversion, assumed by Wesley at the time, he eventually dropped in his mature theology.’<sup>28</sup> Heitzenrater argues that the Aldersgate experience was crucial to Wesley in spiritual rather than theological terms; throughout 1738, Wesley’s contact with Peter Böhler and his written records reveal a desire for assurance that he was a Christian. Wesley’s writings in the aftermath of this experience reveal that this sense of assurance was not complete; he perceived his own faith as inferior to Böhler’s, concluding that different degrees of the same faith were possible: ‘The evidence of his own experience, viewed in the light of Scripture, confirmed for him that although he did *not* have a constant abiding joy, he *did* at that point have constant peace and freedom from sin and therefore some measure of faith.’<sup>29</sup> Martin Schmidt argues that Wesley’s connection with Böhler and the Moravians led to an emphasis on a more primitive form of Christianity, which stressed personal faith and direct knowledge and understanding of being justified through faith: ‘It became more and more clear to him that the essential feature of this was the faith which lays hold of justifying grace and allows itself to be transformed by the Spirit of God. The key to John Wesley’s spiritual development is to be found in this living involvement in primitive Christianity.’<sup>30</sup>

These various analyses of John Wesley’s conversion experience illustrate both the problematic nature of assessing the wider impact of a necessarily subjective, personal experience on Methodism at large, and also several key characteristics of Wesley’s spirituality that were to have a continuing impact on the worship, hymnody, mission and evangelism of the movement. Wesley’s account of his quest for personal

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<sup>28</sup> Richard P. Heitzenrater, *Mirror and Memory: Reflections on Early Methodism* (Nashville, TN: Kingswood Books, 1989) 107.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. 124.

<sup>30</sup> Martin Schmidt, *John Wesley: A Theological Biography*, trans. Norman P. Goldhawk, Vol. 1, 2 vols. (London: Epworth Press, 1962) 222.

assurance and his continued concerns over the validity or strength of his faith, together with his admiration of the Moravian interpretation of practices associated with primitive Christianity combined to shape a practical system that offered support, encouragement, discipline, admonishment, education and spiritual guidance to its members and adherents.

## ***The Development of Methodism***

In the years following the conversion of the Wesleys, the Methodist movement began to expand and take on a more distinctive identity in terms of its theological and doctrinal position, spiritual life and patterns of worship, its structure, evangelical method and modes of cultural engagement, and especially through the peculiar combination of these elements in its hymnody, which featured prominently in almost every aspect of its work.

## **Methodist Theology and Conflicts with the Moravians and the Church of England**

Although John Wesley had been profoundly influenced by the Moravians and in particular Peter Böhler's emphasis on justification by faith, his eclectic combination of beliefs, admiration of the theological writers he had begun to read in his days at Oxford, and his own interpretation of these brought about a distinctive Methodist theological approach, which divided opinion among those with whom Methodism came into contact.

At the core of the Wesley's theology was the belief that the offer of salvation was universal, a gift offered by God to the whole of humanity, should they choose to accept it. It is cogently and succinctly expressed in one of John Wesley's most famous



sermons, on the subject of 'Free Grace', which he based on Romans 8, verse 32,<sup>31</sup> preached in 1739, where he states that 'The grace or love of God, whence cometh our salvation, IS FREE IN ALL, and FREE FOR ALL.'<sup>32</sup>

Behind this simple statement lies, of course, a more complex set of theological principles, which define the ways in which the salvation may be received, the role of the individual believer, the effects of obtaining this salvation, and the spiritual journey that ensues from it. Wesley's theology was centred on a four-fold interpretation of the means of salvation, emphasising the personal nature of faith within the context of a universal offer of grace:

God must be seen to be offering salvation to all, and all must be free to accept or reject it.

Even though we are saved by grace through faith, and not by our own works, we must actively pursue salvation, prepare for it, build upon the grace offered after conversion, and pursue perfection.<sup>33</sup>

John Munsey Turner argues that Wesley's four basic doctrines, justification by faith, the new birth, the witness of the spirit, and sanctification, need to be understood not as a linear progression, but as inter-dependent, building upon and supporting each other; he compares them to 'the instruments of a quartet, the melodies of which support and interpenetrate one another.'<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> 'He who did not withhold his own Son, but gave him up for all of us, will he not with him also give us everything else?' (New Revised Standard Version)

<sup>32</sup> Cited in Waller, *John Wesley: A Personal Portrait* 68.

<sup>33</sup> Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* 388.

<sup>34</sup> John Munsey Turner, *John Wesley: The Evangelical Revival and the Rise of Methodism in England* (Peterborough: Epworth Press, 2002) 76.

In subscribing to the account of the Fall in Genesis as literal history, Wesley regarded humanity as having lost its perfect relationship with God, and thus held that every human being was in need of salvation. Wesley's understanding of the Doctrine of Original Sin centred on this optimism of grace; Rupert Davies notes that in response to the claim that Original Sin 'impugns the justice and mercy of God', Wesley 'claims that the transmission of Adam's sin has no such effect 'provided all may recover through the Second Adam whatever they lost through the first; nay, and recover it with unspeakable gain; since every additional temptation they feel, by that corruption of nature which is antecedent to their choice, will, if conquered by grace, be a means of adding to that "exceeding and eternal weight of glory."'"<sup>35</sup>

Wesley reconciled the positions of free will and the sinfulness of humanity evident in this understanding through the concept of 'prevenient grace', which he regarded as a gift from God to all people. He believed that the process of salvation began with this gift of grace, through which individuals could repent of their sin, and be justified by faith. For Wesley, justification was a pardon granted by faith, and represented both a corporate and singular reconciliation with God through Christ's death. Thereafter comes new birth, described by Rupert Davies as 'an elemental change',<sup>36</sup> which Wesley often compared with physical birth, relating the ability of a New-Born believer to assimilate the knowledge of God and his grace to the ability of a new-born child to learn, see and hear more and more of the world around them. Davies illustrates the sanctifying nature that this process was intended to bring about in the

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<sup>35</sup> Davies, 'The People Called Methodists: 1. Our Doctrines', 154. Citing Wesley's *The Doctrine of Original Sin*, Section VI.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 164.



believer, commenting that through the process of New Birth 'the helpless sinner is on the way to becoming a saint.'<sup>37</sup>

Wesley initially insisted on the third stage of the process, the witness of the Holy Spirit, or the personal assurance that the believer is a child of God, but later withdrew it as a requirement of salvation, acknowledging it to be an 'extravagant doctrine.'<sup>38</sup> His later position was less emphatic, stating that while Methodists still preached the doctrine of assurance, it was considered as a privilege rather than a necessity. William Cannon argues that this doctrine of assurance initially found favour with Wesley following his own conversion experience,

On the basis of his own experience Wesley laid down as a principle of the religious life that the direct witness of the Spirit, providing the believer with a sense of assurance, is the natural accompaniment of justification itself and is granted unto every child of God.<sup>39</sup>

Sanctification, or the achievement of Christian perfection, represents the culmination of Wesley's four-fold theology of salvation; it was intended as the goal for all Christians. This was the complete working out of faith by love in an individual's life, which Wesley believed could be both gained, lost and regained during one's earthly life. Although it was a somewhat unorthodox position at the time, Wesley claimed scriptural precedent, using 1 Corinthians 1:30 among other passages to justify it.<sup>40</sup>

Munsey Turner points out that Wesley was not claiming that a sinless existence was

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 165.

<sup>39</sup> William Ragsdale Cannon, *The Theology of John Wesley: With Special Reference to the Doctrine of Justification* (New York, Nashville, TN: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1946) 215.

<sup>40</sup> <sup>30</sup>He is the source of your life in Christ Jesus, who became for us wisdom from God, and righteousness and sanctification and redemption, <sup>31</sup>in order that, as it is written, 'Let the one who boasts, boast in the Lord.'" (NRSV)

possible, rather 'an inherent perfection in love and obedience', which is characterised by love of God and neighbour.

Wesley's theological rationale centred on a four-fold structure of Scripture, reason, Tradition and experience, commonly referred to as the 'Wesleyan Quadrilateral.'<sup>41</sup> The first three had long been central to the Church of England's understanding and development of religious expression, but Wesley's addition of experience emphasises the personal aspect of faith that he sought to promote, reflecting Moravian influence in particular. This structure is best understood in terms of Methodism's original function as a revivalist movement; drawing upon the accepted model of the Church of England, Wesley's addition emphasised evangelical zeal and personal commitment.

Explicit in this theological construction is Wesley's rejection of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, which was underpinned by his views on God's mercy and justice; he found it impossible to reconcile God's perfection with the concept that some humans might be predestined to eternal damnation.<sup>42</sup>

Wesley's understanding of salvation by faith as a continual process and the emphasis on good works forming a necessary part of this process, albeit as a response to the grace freely offered rather than as a means of attaining salvation, led to conflict with the Moravian Christians, whose theological outlook centred on the doctrine of stillness, which was incompatible with the notion of an active and engaging salvific process. On returning to England, Wesley had become heavily involved in the running of the Fetter Lane Religious Society, which had strong connections with

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<sup>41</sup> This term was first coined by Albert C. Outler in John Wesley and Albert Cook Outler, *John Wesley: A Representative Collection of His Writings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

<sup>42</sup> Schmidt, *John Wesley: A Theological Biography* 87-88.



Zinzendorf's Moravian Community.<sup>43</sup> This was not, however, to be a long-lasting relationship; by late 1738, the seeds of separation were sown, concerning theological and doctrinal differences, though it was not until July 1740 that John Wesley, along with 18 or 19 others withdrew from the Society. Although impressed with the communal discipline, Wesley objected to the doctrine of stillness that had come to dominate the spiritual life of the society; this advocated that humans could do nothing to earn God's grace, but wait until they gained a fuller understanding of the faith.

Colin Podmore writes,

The kernel of the idea of stillness was that those who did not yet have faith should "be still", that is, abstain from Communion and even from excessive prayer, Bible reading, and attendance at church. It was Wesley's dissension from what he saw as a depreciation of the ordinances of the church that was to be the occasion of his withdrawal from the society nine months later.<sup>44</sup>

This difference of opinion was exacerbated by the High Anglican background of the Wesleys, which, in stark contrast to this notion, included a strong sacramental theology. In addition to encouraging regular partaking of the sacrament, John Wesley regarded Holy Communion as a 'converting ordinance' that could lead a person to faith. His doctrine of Christian perfection also led to disputes with the Moravians, 'He held that even in the life a Christian could, in a sense, become 'perfect' (free from voluntary sin), whereas the Moravians, by contrast, held that sin always remained,

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<sup>43</sup> Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf, an imperial nobleman, founded the Renewed Moravian Church in the early 1720s. He made a huge contribution to Moravian worship and hymnody: "To Zinzendorf, singing had above all to express Christian experience. He himself wrote some 2000 hymns and stimulated others to write." John R. Weinlick, 'Zinzendorf, Nikolaus Ludwig Von', in L. Macy (ed.), *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com/>>, accessed 05/09/07.

<sup>44</sup> Colin Podmore, *The Moravian Church in England, 1728-1760* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) 60.

though conquered by faith in Christ.’<sup>45</sup> Wesley equated this viewpoint with Antinomianism, and it was to be the source of a division with Zinzendorf that precluded any reconciliation between the Methodists and Moravians.

Furthermore, his alignment with the Arminian school of theology was a cause of significant conflict both with close personal colleagues, such as George Whitefield, and the Church of England more widely. His doctrine of Christian perfection, which ran contrary to Calvinist thought, was opposed by both traditionalists within the Church of England and by many of the leading figures of the Evangelical Revival.<sup>46</sup>

This controversy was neither contained to disputes with close colleagues nor to the early days of the movement. After disputes in each ensuing decade, particularly concerning the role of good works, for which he was highly criticised, Wesley’s Conference Minutes of 1770 set out his position with little caution: ‘Not only did he emphasize the goal of holiness with an enhanced role for works, but he impatiently dismissed what Calvinists regard as essential technical points about ‘merit’ as being mere hair-splitting and ‘disputes about words’.’<sup>47</sup> Henry Rack notes that Wesley maintained a strong position regarding justification and salvation through God’s grace, which resulted in a necessary combination of faith and works, preventing reconciliation with the Calvinists:

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid. 73.

<sup>46</sup> Traditionalists could cite the ‘Articles of Religion’ in the *Book of Common Prayer*, which include statements in support of the doctrines of predestination and election, and had been the officially - recognised position of the Church of England since the Convocation of 1562. Those associated with the Evangelical movement were keen to stress the importance of personal faith and piety, connecting this with the distinction between the elect and the non-elect.

<sup>47</sup> Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* 454. This document, along with Wesley’s memorial address after Whitefield’s death in the same year provoked a long literary dispute between Arminians and Calvinists associated with Methodism, principally John Fletcher, who sided with Wesley, and Augustus Montague Toplady and Richard Hill, Calvinists associated with the Countess of Huntingdon’s Connexion.



Wesley, in his thoroughly eighteenth-century instinct for the divine benevolence and human free will, and his obsessive search for holiness, went to great lengths to preserve the need for human effort. It had always been the weakness of the Calvinist and Lutheran traditions that they could never quite dispel the suspicion that election was unjust and that extreme justification by grace through faith ideas led to antinomianism. But the sense of human weakness and of the almighty power and grace of God led the eighteenth-century Calvinists to have a deep suspicion of Wesley's devices for securing the drive to holiness and above all of his incredibly optimistic claims (as they say) about the achievement of perfection in this life.<sup>48</sup>

These aspects of theology formed the core of Methodist identity under John Wesley's leadership in the eighteenth century. It is the distinctive combination of these ideas and the emphasis placed on them within the context of a largely orthodox understanding of Christian theology and doctrine that establishes Methodism's unique theological identity, and reflects the significance of John Wesley in shaping the movement in both theological and practical terms.

## **Methodist Spirituality and Worship**

Methodism's strong theological emphasis on personal salvation as part of a universal offer of grace resulted in personal and corporate worship and the development of spirituality being given a high priority in the activities of the movement. John Lawson argues that Wesley's combination of the tenets of religion according to the Church of England with this theological position created a strong spiritual foundation for the movement:

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid. 459.

To John Wesley, Methodism was the religion of the Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy of the Church of England, but with a difference from that religion as it was commonly understood at the time. The Holy Spirit had brought this doctrine and devotion home to the heart with such intensity of personal conviction that it was now much more than a sincerely approved system. The sense of the Presence of Christ dwelling in the heart as Judge and Saviour was so vivid that He reigned there, the unquestioned Master of the mind, of the will, of the affections.<sup>49</sup>

This religious intensity and quest for personal holiness demanded a highly committed response from Wesley's followers, which, in its fullest application, according to Lawson, directed all aspects of their lives,

This quickening of motive is the practical expression of the Methodist doctrine of Holiness. Wesley's doctrine is in essence very simple. It is that those who unreservedly trust in Christ for salvation have only one allowable ideal which they can set before themselves. This is that the Holy Spirit should eventually lift the believer to entire victory over all wilful sin. In the serious Christian life there is no room whatever for conscious trifling with known temptation in the heart, or for continuance in known compromise in conduct.<sup>50</sup>

In setting out his views on grace, Wesley expressed strong views concerning the need for his followers to participate regularly in religious services; his High Church background was reflected in an emphasis on receiving Holy Communion regularly, as illustrated in the first of his rules for the Methodist bands of 1744, 'To be at Church and at the Lord's Table every week'.<sup>51</sup> Wesley's diaries reveal his own adherence to this principle, and Methodist attendance at parish church communion services was

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<sup>49</sup> John Lawson, 'The People Called Methodists: 2. 'Our Discipline'', in Rupert E. Davies and Gordon Rupp (eds.), *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain* (1; London: Epworth Press, 1965), 181-210, 185-86.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 186.

<sup>51</sup> Cited in A. Raymond George, 'The People Called Methodists: 4. The Means of Grace', Ibid., 257-74, 264.



high in the initial years of the movement. Methodist meeting houses, although used for other forms of public worship, were not intended to be used for communion services. However, the growth of Methodism among people with no previous religious affiliation and increased hostility from some Anglican clergymen led to Methodists being barred from parish churches, and communion services were held in some Methodist chapels. More notably, there are several instances of Wesley administering communion to Dissenters, and in 1740, he cited the practice of the Early Church in communicating everyone who was baptised, asserting that this illustrated that communion was a converting ordinance, not merely a confirming ordinance. In so doing, Raymond George argues that

he not only abandoned his former high-church restrictions on admission to the table; he also took up a position which differed from Pietism with its insistence on a particular experience as a prerequisite of admission, and from the Moravian, or pseudo-Moravian, emphasis on stillness.... Yet the familiar assertion that Methodism has always practised open communion needs some modification, for, though the table was in one sense open to all, Wesley laid stress on the need for some spiritual qualification by using such phrases as 'those who know and feel that they want the grace of God'.<sup>52</sup>

George's argument should not be taken as an indication that Wesley's conversion experience resulted in a wholesale change in his churchmanship, from a traditional High Anglican position to one of low-church Evangelicalism. Daniel Stevick argues that 'The Wesleyan Movement was, in the intention of John and Charles, at the same time both evangelistic and eucharistic.'<sup>53</sup> Wesley's respect for the sacraments, and the strong emphasis he placed on them remained intact; rather than abandoning such

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 265-66.

<sup>53</sup> Daniel B. Stevick, *The Altar's Fire: Charles Wesley's 'Hymns on the Lord's Supper, 1745': Introduction and Exposition* (Peterborough: Epworth Press, 2004) 7.

principles, the evangelical emphasis in his theological rationale evident after 1738 sought to stress this aspect of religious belief more strongly, through his understanding of communion as a 'converting ordinance.'

Wesley's emphasis on the need for his followers to receive Holy Communion on a regular basis reflects his initial understanding of Methodism as a revival movement within the Church of England; Methodist meetings were originally intended as supplemental to parish worship, designed to offer an opportunity for closer attention to be paid to particular aspects of Christian faith, largely through preaching and song, without the confines of the prescriptive liturgy of the *Book of Common Prayer*, which governed the form of Church of England worship. Rack argues that

In John Wesley's eyes Methodist meetings for preaching were not services of worship complete in themselves. They were timed so as not to clash with church service hours; Methodists were expected to attend their church or meeting houses for ordinary services or sacraments, their own meetings being merely a devotional supplement.<sup>54</sup>

Methodist forms of worship were commonly held on weekdays or at times on Sundays that did not clash with parish services, and were characterised by a simple format, typically centred on preaching, supplemented with short prayers and hymns. Preaching formed the backbone of corporate Methodist worship, providing opportunities to communicate the essential message of the universal offer of grace to as many people as would listen. Open-air preaching was to become one of the most significant characteristics of Methodism, and of John Wesley's ministry in particular.

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<sup>54</sup> Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* 409. Over time, many Methodists preferred to create a self-sufficient system of worship and devotion within Methodism, although some 'Church Methodists' remained faithful to Wesley's ideal.



Begun by Howell Harris and George Whitefield, and first adopted by Wesley in 1739, this practice became common in places where Methodists had been banned from the local parish church, and frequently attracted large crowds.<sup>55</sup> Despite initial misgivings, Wesley accepted the fruitful response to this method of preaching:

The message itself was simple and consisted of repentance, new birth, justification, the joy of salvation and the pursuit of sanctification. The content of Wesley's sermons was guided by two ideas, the plain meaning of Scripture and the use of reason. Wesley was a scholar, but he was one who appealed to ordinary people; he used his scholarship to present his sermons in plain language and in an arrangement that could be both understood and remembered.<sup>56</sup>

Other gatherings, such as prayer meetings and classes and bands emphasised lay participation in a more informal environment. Other occasional forms of worship owed their existence within Methodism to the influence of other religious groups, notably the Moravians. The most significant of these was the Love Feast, which became a distinctive feature of the Methodist Societies' communal religious life, usually taking place on a quarterly basis. Although originally open only to those belonging to bands, these meetings later involved the whole society, though divided into groups based on gender and marital status. A simple meal of plain cake and water was provided and the sharing of testimony also featured prominently. John Kent describes the 'intense communal pressure' of such gatherings<sup>57</sup>, and it is clear that the attraction of this practice to Wesley and its popularity within Methodism lay

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<sup>55</sup> Whitefield estimated that his own three earliest forays into open-air preaching attracted 200, 2,000 and 10,000 people, respectively. Waller notes that 'even allowing for the natural inclination of preachers to inflate congregational numbers, there is no doubt that Whitefield had discovered a real need among members of the community, as well as stimulating an interest.' Waller, *John Wesley: A Personal Portrait* 71.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. 74.

<sup>57</sup> John Kent, *Wesley and the Wesleyans: Religion in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 15.

in the deeply spiritual experience it engendered in many of the participants as they recounted the 'blessings they had found lately',<sup>58</sup> and took inspiration from each other. Wesley's admiration of this form of religious expression stemmed from his understanding of it as a re-creation of the practices of the early Church; Towlson notes that, in his diary, 'he refers to the Love-feast by the name used by the early Church – Agape.'<sup>59</sup> John Walsh notes that the Love Feasts took on a quasi-sacramental role, particularly among Methodist Societies that had become totally independent of the Church of England, describing them as 'a domesticated, democratized folk sacrament'.<sup>60</sup>

A significant annual event was the Covenant Service, which Wesley strongly advocated. Again, Wesley's eclectic background is evident; drawing on Puritan precedents, this service reflected Old and New Testament ideas and had been used on a personal level by many Puritans.<sup>61</sup> Wesley adapted this for corporate use within Methodism, and it was widely practiced from 1755. The service placed considerable emphasis on human sin and submitting to God's will. Rack argues that Wesley's appropriation of this service from the Puritan tradition reflected a uniquely Methodist understanding of spirituality and commitment:

What is characteristic of the Methodist rite is that it took the old Puritan individual covenant and made it a collective act of self-examination and renewal of vows and dedication to God, while using words still suitable for individual acceptance within the corporate act. It neatly

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<sup>58</sup> Cited in Towlson, *Moravian and Methodist: Relationships and Influences in the Eighteenth Century* 213.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid. 210.

<sup>60</sup> John Walsh, 'Religious Societies', in Diana Wood and W. J. Sheils (eds.), *Voluntary Religion: Papers Read at the 1985 Summer Meeting and the 1986 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Studies in Church History; Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 288.

<sup>61</sup> Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* 412.



expressed the Methodist sense of a personal pilgrimage in company with the society of the people of God. If it seemed to assort rather oddly with the doctrine of salvation by grace through faith, it had the old Puritan notion of 'preparation' for the grace of God, which was stressed still more in Wesley's Arminian mind.<sup>62</sup>

## The Place of Hymnody: Uses and Influences

Hymnody featured significantly in all expressions of Methodist worship and its place is crucial in understanding the movement's method of communicating its theological message and evangelical zeal. David Hempton illustrates how Methodist hymnody has almost become synonymous with the movement itself: 'It has long been recognized that the most distinctive, characteristic, and ubiquitous feature of the Methodist message, indeed of the entire Methodist revival, was its transmission by means of hymns and hymn singing.'<sup>63</sup> Both the content of particular hymns and the general understanding of their function, together with their dissemination and the organisation of hymnals reveal much about Methodism's priorities and are a defining characteristic of the movement. Rack illustrates the vital place of hymnody in Methodist worship, preaching and evangelisation: 'Hymns, more than any other single source except the Bible, were the means by which the ordinary Methodist could obtain a knowledge of what Wesley thought Methodism taught.'<sup>64</sup>

Hymns were, therefore, a vital component in Methodism's desire to communicate the message of the universal offer of salvation to followers of many and varied backgrounds, in a succinct, understandable and memorable manner. Carlton Young comments on the accessibility of the Methodist hymns, which reflects the inclusive

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid. 413-14.

<sup>63</sup> David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven, CT, London: Yale University Press, 2005) 68.

<sup>64</sup> Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* 414.

ethos of the movement as a whole: 'One of the most remarkable aspects of Wesleyan hymns is that they were sung by divergent people in varying levels of theological understanding in a variety of religious, social, and economic settings.'<sup>65</sup> Andrew Pratt notes that 'Historically Methodists have regarded hymns as a devotional resource as well as for public worship.'<sup>66</sup>

Furthermore, hymnody served a third function; alongside its role in worship and as devotional material, it became a key feature in Methodism's evangelistic work. The influence of Moravian hymnody and its use is important in understanding this aspect of Methodist hymnody. John Wesley was profoundly influenced by Moravian hymnody during his visit to Georgia and subsequent contact with Zinzendorf and the Moravian community at Herrnhut, particularly by the strong pedagogical and evangelistic traits it embodied.

Hymn-singing formed a large part of the devotional life of the Moravian community at Herrnhut, and many texts date from the revival there in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Zinzendorf introduced *Singstunden*, which were free sessions of hymn singing, designed to strengthen the congregation: 'He felt that they were ways to a genuine expression of enthusiastic pietistic faith and therefore a measure of the spiritual condition of the congregation.'<sup>67</sup> The *Singstunden* became a central part of Moravian life, a service in which stanzas from the hymnal would be selected for singing in order to explore a particular aspect of the Christian faith. Hymn-singing

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<sup>65</sup> Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 30.

<sup>66</sup> Andrew Pratt, *O for a Thousand Tongues: The 1933 Methodist Hymn Book in Context* (Peterborough: Epworth Press, 2004) 54.

<sup>67</sup> Walter Blankenburg, 'The Music of the Bohemian Brethren', in Friedrich Blume (ed.), *Protestant Church Music: A History* (London: Gollancz, 1975), 591-608, 600.



also featured prominently in other forms of worship, including communion, with the hymns always chosen to emphasise the significance of the occasion.

Zinzendorf's advocacy of this frequent use of hymnody is highly symptomatic of the dual understanding of hymnody's function that characterised Moravian worship and spiritual life, and was to determine Wesley's approach to hymnody and its use within the Methodist movement. Although the hymnody acted most obviously as a uniting, corporate act of praise, encouraging full congregational participation, more significantly, it also fulfilled a pedagogical function, embodying a particular theological interpretation of scripture, corresponding to that which was preached to the congregation. It sought to reinforce beliefs and attempted to strengthen the faith of members in accordance with their particular religious tradition and theological interpretation. Albert Frank argues that hymnody, both in concept and content, embodies Moravian religious belief: 'Hymns connect Moravians to their heritage, yet they place worshippers squarely in the present. They provide the clearest and most public expressions of Moravian theology as well as the deepest heart-felt responses to God.'<sup>68</sup>

This aspect of hymnody is most obviously apparent in the actual hymn texts used within Methodism, but it is also important to note the impact of this understanding of the close connection between hymnody, evangelism and teaching the faith at a conceptual level, through John Wesley's ordering of hymns in the various collections he edited and authorised for Methodist use. The structure of his most comprehensive

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<sup>68</sup> Albert H. Frank, *Companion to the 1995 Moravian Book of Worship* (Winston-Salem, NC: Moravian Music Foundation, 2004) 1.

hymnal, the *Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* (1780), represents a fusion of Methodist theology and the evangelical zeal of the movement:

Part one was an exhortation to return to God by describing the pleasantness of religion, the goodness of God, death, judgement, heaven and hell.... Part two of the *Collection* describes the difference between formal and informal religion; part three contains prayers for repentance and recovery from backsliding; part four envisages the believer rejoicing, fighting, praying, watching, working, suffering, groaning for full redemption, and interceding for the world; part five includes hymns of corporate life, celebrations of Methodist community.<sup>69</sup>

## Methodist Structure and Organisation

Methodism's emphasis on evangelism and the universal offer of salvation exerted a considerable influence on the organisation and structure of the movement to ensure that each follower was supported, encouraged and guided in their spiritual life.

Methodist Societies were quickly established wherever John Wesley and his fellow preachers managed to find support in local communities. Soon, the Societies were divided into smaller classes in order to give greater attention to the spiritual needs and development of individual members.<sup>70</sup> The class meetings were to be focal points for fellowship within the Society, providing a formal structure to ensure adequate provision of spiritual guidance and support, but also creating a smaller, more intimate environment in which the benefits of Christian fellowship could be felt. Waller describes how the understanding of such meetings changed as Methodism developed:

'These weekly classes at first had a disciplinary and caring function, that of

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<sup>69</sup> Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* 69-70.

<sup>70</sup> This idea initially arose from the need to support the poorest members of the Society in Bristol. Waller, *John Wesley: A Personal Portrait* 53.



‘watching over’ one another, but the members of the ‘class’ soon came to experience the value of Christian fellowship that developed in the meeting.’<sup>71</sup>

Classes were sometimes subdivided into bands, smaller groups for those who ‘wanted to develop their Christian life in a closer connection with others’.<sup>72</sup> Bands allowed opportunity for mutual confession and prayer in a smaller, more intense group. The localised and personalised environment of the classes and bands served a variety of functions within the overall aims of Methodism: ‘The aims of these little Methodist associations were to finance the movement’s expansion, exercise spiritual discipline (unrepentant backsliders were ejected), pursue scriptural holiness, nurture fellowship, and train future leaders.’<sup>73</sup> John Wesley acknowledged that the main appeal of this method of organisation was pragmatic, although it did reflect practices of the Early Church. David Carter assesses John Wesley’s ecclesiology through the structures he sought to impose on the Methodist Societies, and argues that Wesley’s pragmatism is the principal defining characteristic, rather than allegiance with the ecclesiology of one particular religious tradition:

Part of the problem in interpreting him is that Wesley did not move consistently away from an inherited high-Anglican emphasis on the importance of tradition to attitudes based on experience. Rather, the four elements of the Methodist ‘quadrilateral’, Scripture, reason, Tradition and experience, remained fluidly and variably combined in his thinking and practice.... He clearly believed that pragmatic innovation and adaptability were acceptable and legitimate provided they served goals which could ultimately be shown to be scriptural.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. 53-54.

<sup>73</sup> Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* 78.

<sup>74</sup> David Carter, *Love Bade Me Welcome: A British Methodist Perspective on the Church* (Peterborough: Epworth Press, 2002) 5-6.

Mutual accountability, a strong feature of both the class and band meetings, emphasised the elements of reason and experience in Wesley's four-fold religious outlook, as it placed emphasis 'both on the divine institution and the human, voluntary nature of the Church.'<sup>75</sup>

## ***Summary***

Thus in its structure, worship and hymnody, Methodism was informed and guided by its fundamental theological principle of proclaiming the message of God's universal offer of salvation. Common influences can be identified across these different strands of early Methodism, reflecting John Wesley's eclectic background and emphasising his pragmatic approach to furthering Methodism's work. His strong presence and firm leadership saw the elements of these various traditions adapted, extended, and shaped into forms for specifically Methodist use, with the aim of upholding scriptural integrity while maintaining cultural relevance.

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid. 9.



## IV. Charles Wesley's Hymns as Expressions of Methodist Theology and Doctrine

The centrality of Charles Wesley's hymnody to Methodist worship and especially in the communication of its theological values has long been recognised. The compilers of *The Methodist Hymn Book* (1933) acknowledge his legacy to the movement and the characteristic way in which its beliefs and values have been expressed:

Charles Wesley wrote the first hymns of the Evangelical Revival during the great Whitsuntide of 1738 when his brother and he were "filled with the Spirit," and from that time onwards Methodists have never ceased to sing. Their characteristic poet is still Charles Wesley. While for half a century hymns poured continually from his pen on almost every subject within the compass of Christianity, and while no part of the New Testament escaped him, most of all he sang the "gospel according to St Paul." He is the poet of the Evangelical faith. In consequence Methodism has always been able to sing its creed.<sup>1</sup>

The vast number of hymns, their breadth of subject, structure, metre, language and intended function, and their widespread use in eighteenth-century Methodism combine to make them arguably the most instructive, and certainly the most concise and memorable, statements of Methodist theology and doctrine, as well being the most significant way in which principles related to practice, through their frequent use in all manner of Methodist meetings.

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<sup>1</sup> Methodist Church (Great Britain), *The Methodist Hymn Book, with Tunes* (London: Methodist Conference Office, 1933) iii.

## ***'And only breathe, to breathe thy love': the Theological Content of Charles Wesley's Hymns<sup>2</sup>***

Irrespective of their scriptural, seasonal or liturgical context, Charles Wesley's hymns embody a strong theological interpretation of their subject in accordance with Methodism's Arminian emphasis on the universal offer of salvation and its significance for the individual believer. Barrie Tabraham comments that

The root of Charles' theology lay in what God had done for all humankind in Christ. Both John and Charles were Arminians, in the sense that they believed the grace of God to be available to all people. Therefore, we find Charles giving great emphasis to the universal love of God.<sup>3</sup>

## ***'Lift up the standard of thy cross': the Work of Salvation<sup>4</sup>***

John R. Tyson argues that the centrality of the cross and the means of salvation in Charles Wesley's poetry and preaching are critical in understanding the hymns' primary function as evangelistic tools for the movement: 'This cross-centred approach to the Bible fits well with the work of the preacher-poet, who understood himself primarily as a Methodist evangelist.'<sup>5</sup> In terms of his hymns, this is not merely confined to a narrow range of subjects concerning redemption and the passion; instead, it permeates his writing on virtually all aspects of doctrine and Christian experience,

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<sup>2</sup> From 'Hymns for a Preacher of the Gospel', *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (1749)

<sup>3</sup> Barrie W. Tabraham, *Brother Charles* (Exploring Methodism, London: Epworth, 2003) 78.

<sup>4</sup> From *Hymns on God's Everlasting Love* (1741)

<sup>5</sup> John R. Tyson, 'I Preached at the Cross, as Usual': Charles Wesley and Redemption', in Kenneth G.C. Newport and Ted A. Campbell (eds.), *Charles Wesley: Life, Literature and Legacy* (Peterborough: Epworth Press, 2007), 204-28, 204.



in Charles Wesley's theology the cross becomes a central symbol or image around which many important soteriological themes are collected. In this sense, then, the 'cross' is used to refer to Good Friday, yet also moves beyond Good Friday to Easter, Pentecost and the Christian's contemporary experience.<sup>6</sup>

The significance of the cross in terms of God's offer of grace to each individual is emphasised in the Easter hymn 'Christ the Lord is risen today', where Charles highlights the cross as the connection between human existence and the benefits of God's grace,

Soar we now where Christ hath led,  
Following our exalted Head,  
Made like him, like him we rise;  
Ours the cross, the grave, the skies;

The reality of the cross and its contemporary relevance for those to whom Methodism preached is also an essential feature of Charles' hymns; the movement's emphasis on personal salvation and the necessity of making an individual commitment of faith is frequently portrayed in hymns relating to Christian experience. The hymn 'Let earth and heaven agree' includes a couplet describing a believer's comprehension of the significance of Christ's death: 'See there my Lord upon the tree! I hear, I feel, he died for me.'

However, the individual's place within the larger community of faith is also a vital element of Charles' hymnody, reflecting Methodism's emphasis on the all-encompassing nature of God's grace. The same hymn concludes with a bold

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 209.

statement of this theological principle, at once acting as an aid to evangelism but also reminding the individual believer of their own place within a wider community of faith.

O for a trumpet voice  
On all the world to call,  
To bid their hearts rejoice  
In him who died for all!  
For all my Lord was crucified,  
For all, for all my Saviour died.

On occasion, this emphasis on the universal offer of grace extended beyond expressions of hope and expectation, designed to encourage believers, to a more dogmatic exposition of Methodist theological principles and values. The famous hymn 'Father, whose everlasting love' is insistent on this subject; Watson and Trickett describe it as 'a manifesto of the Wesleys' belief that the gospel is preached for all and is true for all; it was written in opposition to the belief which would limit Christ's atoning work to the elect.'<sup>7</sup> In its original six-verse form, the word 'all' is used eight times, at least once in each verse, which, along with lines such as 'Help us thy mercy to extol, Immense, unfathomed, unconfined', 'The general Saviour of mankind', and 'The world he suffered to redeem', make this perhaps the most robust statement of Methodism's Arminian theology, culminating in the triumphant last verse:

Arise, O God, maintain thy cause!  
The fullness of the nations call;

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<sup>7</sup> J. R. Watson and Kenneth Trickett, *Companion to Hymns & Psalms* (Peterborough: Methodist Publishing House, 1988) 309.



Lift up the standard of thy cross,  
And all shall own thou diedst for all.

Teresa Berger argues that the relationship between the universal and the individual significance of faith is largely the result of a desire to counteract Calvinist teaching in terms of the former, but more positively to affirm personal religious experience in the case of the latter,

The constant emphasis on God's will for universal salvation originates, in no small measure, by way of negative designs. It is meant to refute... a particularistic understanding of salvation as embraced by the Calvinist followers of George Whitefield. The "for me" that appears in Wesley's hymns is, on the other hand, a positive appropriation of Pauline and Reformation principles.<sup>8</sup>

The communal nature of religious faith is also emphasised, in accordance with Methodism's societal structure, which was designed to support and encourage individual members. The hymn entitled 'At Meeting of Friends' illustrates the value of religious fellowship in leading those involved closer to the attainment of Christian perfection. Beginning with a verse of praise for the gift of fellowship, the hymn continues by highlighting its benefits, concluding with a vision of the eternal fellowship of heaven:

He bids us build each other up;  
And, gathered into one,  
To our high calling's glorious hope

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<sup>8</sup> Teresa Berger, *Theology in Hymns? A Study of the Relationship of Doxology and Theology According to a Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists (1780)*, trans. Timothy E. Kimbrough (Nashville, TN: Kingswood Books, 1995) 114-15.

We hand in hand go on.

And if our fellowship below

In Jesus be so sweet,

What heights of rapture shall we know

When round his throne we meet!

Paul Wesley Chilcote describes the emphasis on faith in Charles Wesley's hymns, arguing that 'In short, for Charles, faith is a complex reality in the lives of people, rich in meaning and central to the Christian vision of life.'<sup>9</sup> The precise qualities of faith are set out in the hymn 'Author of faith, eternal Word', concerning which Chilcote comments, 'He affirms the fact that faith is a gift, something related to the burning presence of the Spirit in the lives of the faith-ful. It is a source of knowledge concerning God and the way in which God offers salvation.'<sup>10</sup>

Author of faith, eternal Word,

Whose Spirit breathes the active flame,

Faith, like its finisher and Lord,

Today as yesterday the same.

This emphasis on faith extends well beyond those hymns in which it is the primary subject matter; hymns that include other important features of Methodist theology frequently establish connections between their own subject matter and the Wesleyan understanding of faith and salvation. The Christmas hymn 'Let earth and heaven combine' is a bold statement of Charles' theology of the incarnation, succinctly and

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<sup>9</sup> Paul Wesley Chilcote, 'Charles Wesley and the Language of Faith', in Kenneth G.C. Newport and Ted A. Campbell (eds.), *Charles Wesley: Life, Literature and Legacy* (Peterborough: Epworth Press, 2007), 299-319, 299.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.





memorably expressed in the lines 'Our God contracted to a span, Incomprehensibly made man.' It goes on to marvel at the wonder of God taking human form, highlighting this as the primary means of grace by which salvation is wrought,

He deigns in flesh to appear,  
Widest extremes to join;  
To bring our vileness near,  
And make us all divine:  
And we the life of God shall know,  
For God is manifest below.

The Wesleys' insistence on the place of the Eucharist within the Christian life is also widely reflected in many of Charles' hymns; many texts on this subject were published in supplementary collections rather than the main compilations for use within Methodism.<sup>11</sup> Again, these hymns are rich with the language of faith and salvation, reflecting the brothers' belief in the Sacrament as a 'converting ordinance'. The short hymn 'Come, Holy Ghost, thine influence shed' meditates on the significance of the institution of the bread and wine and the relevance and effects of communicating for each believer:

Come, Holy Ghost, thine influence shed,  
And realize the sign,  
Thy life infuse into the bread,  
Thy power into the wine.

Effectual let the tokens prove

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<sup>11</sup> The most notable collection is *Hymns on the Lord's Supper* (1745).

And made, by heavenly art,  
Fit channels to convey thy love  
To every faithful heart.

## **‘All who read, or hear, are blessed’: the Scriptural Roots of Charles Wesley’s Hymns<sup>12</sup>**

Charles Wesley’s intimate knowledge of the Bible and the profound effect of this upon his hymn-writing are widely acknowledged. J.E. Rattenbury goes so far as to claim that ‘A skilful man, if the Bible were lost, might extract much of it from Charles Wesley’s Hymns’.<sup>13</sup> However, this obfuscates the cardinal point that Wesley’s use of scripture in his hymns was primarily interpretative rather than literal, designed to establish Biblical precedence for the essential theological messages contained therein. Bernard Lord Manning contrasts Wesley’s use of scripture with that of Isaac Watts, widely acclaimed for his biblical paraphrases: ‘Wesley does little paraphrasing. He puts his own notions into scriptural language, and it is always to their advantage.’<sup>14</sup> The richness and diversity of Wesley’s biblical allusions is one of the most notable features of his writing; echoes of verses from across the whole of the Old and New Testaments can be found in his hymns, often intermingled with one another and used within the context of the message of salvation, as discussed above, irrespective of their source. J.R. Watson states that

Wesley’s hymns removed the original words from their contexts and reused them: the phrases were selected, privileged, and reapplied. The reader acknowledges both the original meaning

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<sup>12</sup> From *Short Hymns on Select Passages of Scripture* (1762).

<sup>13</sup> J. Ernest Rattenbury, *The Evangelical Doctrines of Charles Wesley’s Hymns* (London: Epworth Press, 1941) 48.

<sup>14</sup> Bernard Lord Manning, *The Hymns of Wesley and Watts: Five Informal Papers* (London: Epworth Press, 1942) 105.



and the appropriation.... The Bible is indeed the code-book within which we can read Charles Wesley's hymns, and his hymns are dense with allusion and image.<sup>15</sup>

Watson goes on to note that Wesley follows in the tradition of versifying the scriptures that ran from Sternold and Hopkins through to Watts; however, he claims that 'Wesley's technique is rather freer, more spontaneous, a natural development: like a composer finding new harmonies and modulations, he finds new combinations and juxtapositions, Old Testament fitted to New Testament, and New to Old.'<sup>16</sup> Citing Wesley's famous hymn 'O thou who camest from above', based on Leviticus 6: 13, Watson comments that 'The verse from Leviticus has immediately become metaphor, the fire in the heart being kindled by the Saviour'<sup>17</sup> while Hildebrandt and Beckerlegge identify a further twenty-four allusions in the sixteen lines of the hymn.<sup>18</sup>

The communion hymn 'Jesus, we thus obey/Thy last and kindest word' is a typical example of how Wesley uses diverse scriptural references within a distinctive theological framework. Watson and Trickett identify two key quotations from the Gospels: "'Thy last and kindest work' (in verse 1) is Wesley's description of the words 'This do in remembrance of me' (*Luke 22:19*, quoted in *1 Corinthians 11:24*); and the 'sinners' friend' (verse 2) is the 'friend of publicans and sinners' (*Matthew 11:19*).'<sup>19</sup> Later verses have clear Old Testament references, notably likening the banquet in the *Song of Solomon* with the Eucharistic meal:

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<sup>15</sup> J. R. Watson, *The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 230.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 231.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Franz Hildebrandt, Oliver A. Beckerlegge, and Frank Baker (eds.), *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists*, Vol. 7, 33 vols. (The Works of John Wesley, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983) 733.

<sup>19</sup> Watson and Trickett, *Companion to Hymns & Psalms* 355.

With pure celestial bliss

He doth our spirits cheer;

His house of banqueting is this,

*Song of Solomon 2: 4*

And he hath brought use here.

He doth His servants feed

With manna from above,

His banner over us is spread,

*Song of Solomon 2: 4*

His everlasting love.<sup>20</sup>

The final verse of the hymn draws these strands together, emphasising the universal significance of the sacrament in a distinctively Wesleyan interpretation:

Whate'er the Almighty can

To pardoned sinners give,

The fullness of our God made man

We here with Christ receive.

These brief examples illustrate that there is a close association between Wesley's understanding and knowledge of Scripture and his interpretation of it within the context of Methodist theological and doctrinal principles. The hymns clearly attempt to relate principle to practice and were intended to imbue theological values to those who sang and heard them in a way that would have practical relevance to their daily lives. Langford comments that

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<sup>20</sup> The Authorised Version reads 'He brought me to his banqueting house, and his banner over me was love.'



Charles Wesley is important not because he added new thoughts or insights to theological discourse, but because he creatively provided for the Methodist revival a theological character suited to its self-understanding. He added a distinctive theological dimension; or, perhaps better, he helped provide a new dimension to theological expression for the Methodist revival; that is, he kept theology immediately and ineluctably related to the worship and service of God.<sup>21</sup>

***‘The task thy wisdom has assigned/O let me cheerfully fulfil’:***

### ***Charles Wesley as Poet*<sup>22</sup>**

Wesley’s skill in combining these aspects into memorable, concise and popular statements of Methodist beliefs betrays not only an extensive knowledge of the Bible and a keen theological mind but also considerable linguistic and poetic abilities. The resulting hymns became synonymous with Methodism’s work and ministry and were the most practical means of the movement’s cultural engagement; Rattenbury comments that ‘His work was to compose hymns that would be sung, and could be sung by the people – popular songs.’<sup>23</sup>

### **Charles Wesley’s Use of Language**

Watson claims that it is Wesley’s use of language that allows his use of scriptural allusion and interpretation to achieve such memorable results: ‘They are accommodated into the lines, and the lines into the verses, by an art which often makes them precise, absolutely right for the point which they are to make, enriched and enriching by the context in which they are found.’<sup>24</sup> Frank Baker comments on Wesley’s literary skill, which he claims resulted from his classical education in Latin

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<sup>21</sup> Thomas A. Langford, ‘Charles Wesley as Theologian’, in S. T. Kimbrough (ed.), *Charles Wesley: Poet and Theologian* (Nashville, TN: Kingswood Books, 1992), 97-105, 103.

<sup>22</sup> From ‘Before Work’ in *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (1749)

<sup>23</sup> Rattenbury, *The Evangelical Doctrines of Charles Wesley’s Hymns* 35.

<sup>24</sup> Watson, *The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study* 256.

and Greek: 'Wesley displayed a Miltonic facility for incorporating polysyllabic Latinate words into the texture of his verse in such a manner that they illustrated his theme, introduced a modulation in the verbal music, and varied without disrupting the rhythm.'<sup>25</sup> Perhaps the most notable example of this comes in the hymn 'O thou who camest from above', in which the second verse begins 'There let it for thy glory burn/With inextinguishable blaze.' Watson comments that the use of such vocabulary 'would be remarkable anywhere, but their placing in Wesley's lines gives them additional force'.<sup>26</sup> In this instance, it comes after the opening verse's description of the desire for personal commitment and spiritual fulfilment, while the implied vigour is immediately contrasted with the lines 'And trembling to its source return, In humble prayer and fervent praise.'

However, Frank Baker notes that vocabulary derived from Anglo-Saxon dominates Wesley's writing, arguing that this is critical to understanding the effectiveness of his hymns in communicating directly with followers from a wide range of educational backgrounds:

They [John and Charles Wesley] wrote plain English for plain people. This economy in words was the result in part of training, in part of a purified taste, and in part of deliberate restraint for the purposes of evangelism. The result both in prose and in verse was a lucid, direct, forceful style whose influence on the spread of Methodism, as even on English literature, was greater than has often been recognized.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Frank Baker, *Charles Wesley's Verse: An Introduction* (London: Epworth Press, 1964).

<sup>26</sup> Watson, *The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study* 257.

<sup>27</sup> Baker, *Charles Wesley's Verse: An Introduction* 23-24.



A prime example of this simple, direct and powerful language comes in the Christmas hymn 'Glory be to God on high', where the mysteries of the incarnation are distilled into a series of direct paradoxes, which Donald Davie claims should 'leave us gasping',<sup>28</sup>

Emptied of his majesty,  
Of his dazzling glories shorn,  
Being's source begins to be,  
And God himself is born!

Elsewhere, Davie comments on the intellectual challenge posed by these lines, which he identifies as another characteristic of Wesley's hymnody, arguing that the hymns should not be regarded merely as expressions of emotion: 'On the contrary, it should be clear that in a sentence like 'Being's source beings to, And God himself is born', our intellectual faculties – not primarily the sympathies of the human heart, but the energies of human Reason – are being stretched to the limit.'<sup>29</sup>

Charles' use of language clearly reflects three of the four aspects of Outler's 'Wesleyan Quadrilateral' of Scripture, Tradition, Reason and Experience, requiring intellectual engagement on the part of the believer, while relating personal experience to scriptural precedent in a manner that can be regarded as distinctively Methodist.

Charles Wesley's hymns are written with a genius for the placing of words in a line, and lines in a verse; they carry a theology of salvation for all and do so with precision and confidence;

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<sup>28</sup> Donald Davie, *Dissentient Voice: The Ward-Phillips Lectures for 1980 with Some Related Pieces* (Ward-Phillips Lectures in English Language and Literature, Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1982) 21.

<sup>29</sup> Donald Davie, *The Eighteenth-Century Hymn in England* (Cambridge Studies in Eighteenth-Century English Literature and Thought, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 58.

they are full of psychological insight and an awareness of human problems; and they are allusive and complex.<sup>30</sup>

## Metre and Structure in Wesley's Hymns

One of the most notable features of Wesley's hymns is the huge variety of metrical forms that he utilises, which Rattenbury suggests is their 'outstanding literary characteristic'.<sup>31</sup> He goes on to link this metrical variety with Wesley's desire to communicate with followers across the whole social spectrum of Methodism,

Let no one forget that primarily he was not a poet, but an evangelist. What caused him to seek out many metres was not chiefly his metrical ingenuity, but his effort to get at the hearts of the people of England and to give them instruments wherewith to express their new and strange emotions. How quick he was to utilize the metres which caught the popular ear!<sup>32</sup>

Baker notes that the most frequently used metrical forms are iambic metres, of which Wesley used some forty-five in total. 'The most prolific of all was his favourite form of six eights – 8.8.8.8.8 8, rhyming ABABCC.'<sup>33</sup> He also notes that some of Wesley's best-known texts are in trochaic metres, where 'Again his favourite was an eight-lined stanza – eight sevens, cross-rhymed – in which he wrote over seven thousand lines.'<sup>34</sup> The use of these long verses allowed Wesley to develop an idea more thoroughly within a confined space, often juxtaposing the first half of the verse with the second. For example, the second verse of the hymn 'Jesu, lover of my soul' begins with an acknowledgement of human weakness, which is contrasted in the

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<sup>30</sup> J. R. Watson, 'The Hymns of Charles Wesley and the Poetic Tradition', in Kenneth G.C. Newport and Ted A. Campbell (eds.), *Charles Wesley: Life, Literature and Legacy* (Peterborough: Epworth Press, 2007), 361-77, 361.

<sup>31</sup> Rattenbury, *The Evangelical Doctrines of Charles Wesley's Hymns* 33.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. 37.

<sup>33</sup> Baker, *Charles Wesley's Verse: An Introduction* 70.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. 72.



second half of the verse with a greater confidence due to the protection offered by faith:

Other refuge have I none,  
 Hangs my helpless soul on thee;  
 Leave, ah, leave me not alone,  
 Still support and comfort me.  
 All my trust on thee is stayed,  
 All my help from thee I bring;  
 Cover my defenceless head  
 With the shadow of thy wing.

Such juxtapositions are a key structural feature of much of Wesley's verse, on markedly different scales. Tabraham notes that later in the same hymn, Wesley uses the *chiasmus* formula, where 'lines 1 and 4 enclose lines 2 and 3 in the pattern 'A-B-B-A' to enhance the impact of the words, which contrast the sinner's frailty with the perfection of God.'<sup>35</sup>

Just and holy is thy name,	A
I am all unrighteousness;	B
False and full of sin I am,	B
Thou art full of truth and grace.	A

On an even smaller scale, the opening of the hymn 'Let earth and heaven agree' contrasts the praise of humans and angels, to which the individual believer is able to contribute:

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<sup>35</sup> Tabraham, *Brother Charles* 73.

Let earth (A) and heaven (B) agree,  
Angels (B) and men (A) be joined,  
To celebrate with me  
The saviour of mankind;

Such features are crucial in understanding the effectiveness of these hymns in appealing to the new followers of Methodism; the individual believer is at once affirmed in their own existence and pursuit of faith, while being reminded of their place within both the larger earthly community of faith and the eternal kingdom of heaven.

Another structural aspect that assisted the hymns in their expression of Methodist beliefs is the highly ordered and systematic way in which Wesley often approached his subject. Perhaps the most notable example of this is the hymn 'What shall I do my God to love', which deals with the nature of God's love and grace. The first verse introduces all the aspects of the magnitude of God's grace, which are then treated one-by-one in successive verses, before being drawn together in conclusion.

What shall I do my God to love,  
My loving God to praise?  
The length, and breadth, and height to prove,  
And depth of sovereign grace?



Watson and Trickett also note another important structural element, 'The hymn, with its delicate patterns of repetition and contrast, illustrates Charles Wesley's habit of taking up a word or phrase from the end of one verse and using it to open the next.'<sup>36</sup>

Like the actual language employed by Charles Wesley, his use of metre and structure also assist the appeal and effectiveness of his hymns. By interweaving aspects of individual experience with references to the wider religious community and assurances of God's grace, he clearly intended the hymns to be used to encourage and sustain faith and fellowship, while his systematic approach to certain subjects allowed the basic theological premise to be powerfully reinforced.

### ***The Theological Significance of Charles Wesley's Hymnody***

S.T. Kimbrough Jr. uses the term 'lyrical theology' to describe the significant place of hymnody in Christian worship and the expression of beliefs and values:

*Lyrical theology* then is a "sung" theology, or at least a theology expressed in poetry and song.

This means the mode of expressing what we so often are accustomed to hear and see in prose comes to fruition in a different world of language.<sup>37</sup>

He claims that lyrical theology has four main aspects, all of which can be readily observed in Charles Wesley's hymnody. Firstly, he describes it as 'world-making', in that it relates human existence to the eternal nature of God, encouraging participation in religious life by dealing with all aspects of faith: 'A faithful community is formed by doxology and praise, by self-examination and reflection.'<sup>38</sup> Secondly, it is a

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<sup>36</sup> Watson and Trickett, *Companion to Hymns & Psalms* 61.

<sup>37</sup> S. T. Kimbrough, 'Lyrical Theology', *Journal of Theology*, 98 (n.d. 1994), 18-43, 19.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

‘theology of sound’, which requires active engagement and participation, based on the scriptural evidence of the psalms, which ‘perceive what is at the heart of lyrical theology – the human need for words, action, gesture, movement, light, color, music, sound and silence.’<sup>39</sup> In Wesley’s hymns, the emphasis on God’s grace and the encouragement to accept it into one’s life and to participate in the life of faith clearly conforms to these definitions. Wesley allows believers to express their own feelings and to share them with others, while reminding them of the roots of their faith.

Such qualities are also in keeping with the third aspect of lyrical theology, which concerns its ability to communicate with human experience and to connect it to God’s will. Likewise, the fourth aspect emphasises the ability of hymns in allowing believers to communicate with God, which is developed in the fifth, which claims that lyrical theology assists prayer. The final two aspects also indicate the fruits of lyrical theology, in that it should promote a life of service and proclamation. Such characteristics are readily observed in Wesley’s strongly evangelistic hymns as well as those that encourage participation in the religious community. Geoffrey Wainwright comments on the interaction of belief and action in liturgy; as the defining and unifying feature of virtually all forms of Methodist worship, Charles Wesley’s hymns can be understood as one of Methodism’s main attempts to engage with its followers in a manner that related to their social and cultural situations. Wainwright claims that such liturgical developments are crucial in the spiritual development of a religious community, ‘The liturgical assembly mediates encouragement and strength on the moral plane; on the cultural plane, it may assist in

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 33.



the evolution of forms which allows the significant expression of the traditional faith in the midst of the contemporary world.’<sup>40</sup>

Perhaps the primary theological significance of Charles Wesley’s hymns is that they address all aspects of the Christian life, offering a distinctively Methodist interpretation of various aspects of theology, doctrine and scripture, allowing individual believers and whole congregations to express, consider, understand and advocate their beliefs.

Charles Wesley’s theology is “a theology one can sing.” In this sense it is a theology with which one can praise; it is a theology with which one can pray, a theology with which one can teach; it is a theology which one can use to initiate, to guide, and to envision the final hope of Christ’s existence.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Geoffrey Wainwright, *Doxology: The Praise of God in Worship, Doctrine, and Life: A Systematic Theology* (London: Epworth Press, 1980) 217.

<sup>41</sup> Langford, ‘Charles Wesley as Theologian’, 97.

## V. John Wesley's Writings on Music

John Wesley's principal contributions to music literature include instructions for the practice of music in worship, provision for basic musical education, and aesthetic considerations of different styles of music. His famous 'Directions for Singing' were published as an appendix to the first edition of *Sacred Melody* (1761) and provide both practical instructions for congregational singing and insight into the spiritual significance and benefits of singing, as Wesley perceived them. Contained in the same publication was Wesley's first contribution to musical education, 'The Gamut, or Scale of Music'. This was replaced in the second edition (1765) by 'The Grounds of Vocal Music', which also appeared as a separate pamphlet around the same time.<sup>1</sup> His most detailed critical writing on music is the essay 'Thoughts on the Power of Music', written in 1779 and published in the *Arminian Magazine* of 1781; in it, Wesley comments principally on ancient and modern music, particularly in relation to the use of music in worship. Shorter references to music occur periodically in Wesley's *Diary* and *Journal* as well as in the Minutes of various meetings of the Methodist Conference; the former largely concern his reactions to particular pieces of music or local practices, while the latter mainly deal with instructional points for the use of music in Methodist meetings. Examination of the views and principles expressed in his main writings on music reveal an awareness of contemporary music scholarship, an acute understanding of the potential of music for use in worship and evangelism, clear stylistic preferences, and the strong influence of his theological principles and beliefs.

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<sup>1</sup> Lightwood, *Methodist Music in the Eighteenth Century* 34.



## ***'Directions for Singing': the Practice and Purpose of Music in Worship***

This brief list of seven points reveals much about the way in which Wesley desired music to be used in Methodist worship and the benefits that he believed could be reaped from its effective use. Carlton Young suggests that these represent 'Wesley's attempts to standardize hymn singing performance and repertory', which is borne out by their publication together with the tunes of *Sacred Melody*, which Wesley advocated as authentically Methodist. The directions highlight the importance of *Sacred Melody*, while also offering more general practical advice, before concluding with a reminder of the purpose of congregational singing.

*That this part of Divine Worship may be the more acceptable to God, as well as the more profitable to yourself and others, be careful to observe the following directions.*

I Learn *these* Tunes before you learn any others; afterwards learn as many as you please.

II Sing them exactly as they are printed here, without altering or mending them at all; and if you have learned to sing them otherwise, unlearn it as soon as you can.

III Sing *All*. See that you join with the congregation as frequently as you can. Let not a slight degree of weakness or weariness hinder you. If it is a cross to you, take it up and you will find a blessing.

IV Sing *lustily* and with good courage. Beware of singing as if you were half dead, or half asleep; but lift up your voice with strength. Be no more afraid of your voice now, nor more ashamed of its being heard, than when you sung the songs of *Satan*.

V Sing *modestly*. Do not bawl, so as to be heard above or distinct from the rest of the congregation, that you may not destroy the harmony; but strive to unite your voices together, so as to make one clear melodious sound.

VI Sing in *Time*: whatever time is sung, be sure to keep with it. Do not run before nor stay behind it; but attend closely to the leading voices, and move therewith as exactly as you can.

And take care you sing not *too slow*. This drawling way naturally steals on all who are lazy; and it is high time to drive it out from among us, and sing all our tunes just as quick as we did at first.

VII Above all sing *spiritually*. Have an eye to God in every word you sing. Aim at pleasing him more than yourself, or any other creature. In order to this attend strictly to the sense of what you sing, and see that your *Heart* is not carried away with the sound, but offered to God continually; so shall your singing be such as the *Lord* will approve of here, and reward when he cometh in the clouds of heaven.<sup>2</sup>

The first point is a clear indication of the central place that *Sacred Melody* was intended to occupy in Methodist worship; it indicates that the tunes contained therein were meant to be both suitable and sufficient for the needs of any Methodist congregation. The second point gives further evidence of this; in instructing his followers to use the musical material of *Sacred Melody* with precision, Wesley is clearly promoting a unity of practice across Methodism, clearly influenced by his theological position, which advocated the full and equal participation of all.

S.T. Kimbrough Jr. comments on the close relationship between the 'Directions' and *Sacred Melody*, arguing that the former represents a clear statement of the quality of the latter and the benefits it afforded, which are illustrated chiefly in these first two points:

I suspect that part of what is behind the directions is that with a core of good tunes in prevalent meters one could sing many different hymns. ... For example, in *Select Hymns*, 1761, most tunes are assigned to more than one hymn. Above all, I think the Wesleys had come to

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<sup>2</sup> Cited in Hildebrandt, Beckerlegge, and Baker (eds.), *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* 765.



understand the power of the wedding of text and tune as the most vital way of celebrating and remembering faith, scripture, theology, and the task of social service.<sup>3</sup>

The third point is highly symptomatic of Wesley's theological position and attitude towards musical participation; on one level, it is clearly inspired by the Methodist emphasis on a personal commitment to and participation in religious life, which was closely bound up with the Arminian principle of the universal offer of salvation, yet it also serves to remind the individual reader of the value and necessity of religious fellowship, another key feature of Methodism. Points four, five and six are also inspired by the same basic principles. The exhortation to 'Sing *lustily* and with good courage' is clearly aimed at inspiring confidence in faith and uses a scriptural reference to reinforce the point; the charge to 'lift up your voice with strength' is quoted directly from Isaiah 40: 9, itself a command to boldly proclaim God's presence to the world.<sup>4</sup> By way of contrast, point five reminds the individual believer of their place within the wider (singing) community of faith. This clearly accords with the societal nature of Methodism and the requirement for each member to participate fully in its communal life on an equal basis. Baker and Beckerlegge comment on Wesley's use of the word 'harmony', which seems to contradict his advocacy of unison singing as evinced in *Sacred Melody* and later forcefully argued in 'Thoughts on the Power of Music'.<sup>5</sup> While this may indicate that harmony singing was prevalent in Methodism, with Wesley's blessing, it also seems that Wesley is using the term figuratively to describe the desired unity of the congregation. Ultimately, it is a warning not to allow

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<sup>3</sup> Cited in Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 73.

<sup>4</sup> Hildebrandt, Beckerlegge, and Baker (eds.), *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* 765 n.3. The whole verse reads 'O Zion, that bringest good tidings, get thee up into the high mountain; O Jerusalem, that bringest good tidings, lift up thy voice with strength; lift it up, be not afraid; say unto the cities of Judah, Behold your God!' (Authorised Version)

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 765 n.5.

musical ability or enthusiasm to override the more important function of expressing corporate praise, prayer and belief.<sup>6</sup>

Point six gives perhaps the most practical musical advice, but is still directed towards promoting the unity of the congregation. It gives approval to the use of leaders to direct and guide the whole congregation and upon them is vested the responsibility of adopting a suitable tempo for full and enthusiastic participation. The injunction 'take care you sing not *too slow*' seems to refer to the so-called 'Old Way of Singing', which prevailed in parish churches in the late seventeenth century, largely as a result of a lack of musical direction. Temperley gives a general description of the main causes and results of the style,

In places where congregations are left to sing hymns without musical direction for long periods, a characteristic style of singing tends to develop. The tempo becomes extremely slow; the sense of rhythm is weakened; extraneous pitches appear, sometimes coinciding with the hymn tune, sometimes inserted between them; the total effect may be dissonant.<sup>7</sup>

Elsewhere, referring specifically to the development of this style in English parishes of the late-seventeenth century, together with the practice of 'lining-out', he argues that its prevalence is unsurprising,

Such a development was not unnatural when, for a hundred years or more, parochial congregations had been left without any sort of musical direction.... The old psalm tunes

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<sup>6</sup> A similarly ambiguous use of the term occurs in Charles Wesley's 'Musician's Hymn', which begins 'Thou God of harmony and love'; although clearly derived from musical language, the term is used metaphorically to describe God's goodness and benevolence.

<sup>7</sup> Nicholas Temperley, 'The Old Way of Singing: Its Origins and Development', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34/3 (Autumn 1981), 511-44, 511.



became slower and slower and lost their distinctive rhythms (the printed psalm books provide abundant evidence of both trends); the more difficult tunes dropped out of use.<sup>8</sup>

By the turn of the eighteenth century, there were many attempts to eradicate this style of singing; significantly, Temperley notes that it was the rise of Arminian theology amongst the high-church members of the Church of England that brought this about:

There was greater emphasis on the corporate nature of worship, less on the individual worshipper. Increasing material prosperity made the “hoarse or base sound” of the Old Way seem unacceptable to middle-class people who were familiar with art music; they began to feel that God, too, would not accept it, and that only the best possible music should be used in His service.<sup>9</sup>

Wesley’s own Arminian theology is clearly behind his desire to avoid this practice, but the particular circumstances of early Methodism made this specific warning necessary. As early Methodist meetings were usually held either outdoors or in rooms not specifically for congregational worship, lining-out was commonly used to teach new hymns to those attending,<sup>10</sup> while the movement’s prevalence among the industrial communities meant that many of its followers were not accustomed to the contemporary art music style preferred by Wesley and the more middle-class members of both Methodism and the Church of England, making clear instructions vital.

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<sup>8</sup> Nicholas Temperley, 'The Old Way of Singing', *The Musical Times*, 120 (1979), 943, 45, 47, 945.

<sup>9</sup> Temperley, 'The Old Way of Singing: Its Origins and Development', 536.

<sup>10</sup> Temperley notes that George Whitefield was an acknowledged master of leading straight into a hymn by lining out the melody immediately after preaching. *Ibid.*, 535.

Robin Leaver's definition of the concept of the priesthood of all believers is particularly relevant in relation to these points set out by Wesley. In theological terms, Leaver argues that the congregation truly means the entire assembly, including musicians, preacher and celebrant and that in practice, the idea of the priesthood of all believers is often denied, even if it acknowledged or believed by the persons concerned, with musicians granted an elevated, levitical status. He claims that the congregation is more commonly understood merely as those who have no defined role in the liturgical process, which can result in them being separated from the music and the musicians. Instead, he advocates an environment where the musicians, even if located separately from the main body of people, serve to enhance, encourage and lead the music of the congregation.<sup>11</sup> This clearly accords with Wesley's own understanding of the whole congregation as an equal body of believers and seems to have been the guiding theological principle behind these directions.

The final direction is the most overtly spiritual and makes use of a further biblical quotation to reinforce its message; the final phrase 'when he cometh in the clouds of heaven' is taken from Matthew 26: 64, but unlike the earlier quotation from Isaiah, it bears little contextual relation to worship. This direction firmly establishes that the use of music in worship is only a means to an end; the previous directions all hinge on this final point if the music is to be of any assistance in enhancing the religious experience of those participating. Wesley's words function both as a warning and a challenge to the congregation about the conduct of their worship. While the earlier directions provide more practical advice, this final point is the most instructive in terms of Wesley's perception of the value and significance of communal singing in

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<sup>11</sup> Leaver, 'The Theological Character of Music in Worship', 58.



Methodist meetings. Again, Leaver offers a model for understanding this approach; he suggests that music in the context of worship is essentially functional, and that it forms part of the theological construction of worship; he claims that ‘The intertwining duet of music and theology form the substance of Biblical theology’,<sup>12</sup> and argues both a biblical precedence for the use of music in the propagation of the Divine message and also its historical significance in the worship of the Christian Church. According to Leaver, music in a theological context is far removed from the concept of ‘absolute music’, and exists to fulfil a practical purpose; he goes on to assert that Church music cannot justify its own existence, rather it must be grounded in the theological context of the Church’s worship. Furthermore, he argues that there is a strong practical theological link between the Bible and music, with music providing the ‘accompaniment’<sup>13</sup> to the explanation offered by the Bible of the interaction between God and humankind. Thus, for Leaver, music forms a vital part of Christian worship, taking on an important role in the expounding of theology. It is clear from Wesley’s insistence that the Methodists should ‘sing *spiritually*’ that he too understood this close connection and desired his followers to use it to their advantage. The words of the hymns were of the utmost importance, ‘attend strictly to the sense of what you sing,’ but the music enabled the worship to attain greater spiritual heights and to be a more fitting expression of praise, ‘such as the Lord will approve of here, and reward when he cometh in the clouds of heaven.’ Kimbrough suggests that ‘The hymns had become the “theological memory” of the Methodist movement’<sup>14</sup> and notes the significance of the final direction in understanding Wesley’s views, ‘One

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 47-48.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 49.

<sup>14</sup> Cited in Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 73.

could perhaps find directions 1-6 in any good book on hymn or choral singing, but No. 7 is the crowning direction of John Wesley and the Methodist movement.’<sup>15</sup>

These directions are Wesley’s clearest and most comprehensive attempt to offer practical advice and establish normative musical practices across the movement. Grounded in scripture and his theological position, they represent a characteristically Methodist combination of good practice underpinned by clear principles. Young sums up their significance in understanding Wesley’s approach to music and worship: ‘Wesley’s lifelong efforts to standardize the rhetoric and music of congregational song – the unity of emotion and the cognate – the heart and the head – became a distinctive mark of the eighteenth-century Methodist revival in Britain.’<sup>16</sup>

### **Instructional Notes on Music from the Conference**

Similar injunctions appear periodically in the minutes of various meeting of the Methodist Conference, usually in the form of questions and answers dealing with particular situations. For example, the question ‘What can be done to make the people sing better?’ was asked at the Conference of 1765 and was answered in similar fashion to the directions:

- (1) Teach them to sing by note and to sing our tunes first.
- (2) Take care that they do not sing too slow.
- (3) Exhort all that can, in every congregation to sing.
- (4) Set them right that sing wrong. Be patient herein.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Cited in Ibid. 74.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Cited in Lightwood, *Methodist Music in the Eighteenth Century* 35.



A more detailed account is found in answer to a problem raised at the Conference of 1768, 'In many places the work of God seems to stand still. What can be done to revive and enlarge it?' Despite the general nature of the question, music features prominently in the answer; the whole of the sixth paragraph is given over to the necessity of ensuring vigorous singing and the use of appropriate tunes. As well as commenting on the unsuitability of various musical styles for worship, its comments regarding tempo also suggest that the 'Old Way of Singing' had not been entirely eradicated from Methodism:

Beware of formality in singing, as it will creep in upon us unawares. Is it not creeping in already by those complex tunes which it is impossible to sing with devotion? Such is 'Praise the Lord, ye blessed ones!' Such the long quavering Hallelujah annexed to the Morning Song tune, which I defy any man living to sing devoutly....

Again. Do not suffer the people to sing too slow. This naturally tends to formality, and is brought in by those who have very strong or very weak voices. Is it not possible that all Methodists in the nation should sing equally quick? Why should not the Assistant see that they be taught to sing in every large Society? And do this in such a manner as to obviate the ill effects which might otherwise spring therefrom?<sup>18</sup>

Such discussions indicate the 'Directions for Singing' of 1761 had not been unilaterally adhered to throughout the Connexion, which is perhaps indicative of the wide range of cultural and musical experiences present within it. In order to be accurately and fully realised, Wesley's directions would have required decisive leadership from a confident and competent musician; equal standards across the country cannot be assumed and in those areas where such leadership was lacking, the problems outlined by Temperley, discussed above, may have resurfaced. It is

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<sup>18</sup> Cited in Ibid. 35-36.

therefore unsurprising that there were repeated attempts to ensure that congregational singing could achieve its potential.

## ***Wesley's Contributions to Music Education***

Wesley recognised the need for capable musicians to lead the singing of the congregations and sought to provide those with no previous musical experience with the opportunity to gain some knowledge of the rudiments and terminology of music. The use of different sets of instructions in the first and second editions of *Sacred Melody* indicates the importance Wesley attached to this matter and his continued efforts to promote high standards of congregational singing across Methodism.

### **The 'Gamut'**

His first attempt was the lengthy 'The Gamut, or Scale of Music' in the first edition of *Sacred Melody*, which extended to twelve pages, dealing with the positioning of notes on the stave, note values and rests, time signatures, key signatures and intervals. Such instructional information was commonplace in collections of congregational music, as noted by Baker and Beckerlegge, 'The Gamut, or Scale of Music' was a sort of 'First Steps in Reading Music' prefixed to eighteenth-century collections of psalm and hymn tunes so frequently as almost to become a status symbol.'<sup>19</sup> Richard Leppert notes that the practice dates back to Guido d'Arezzo in the eleventh century, but that from the sixteenth century onwards, they were simplified by the introduction of the four-syllable sol-fa system, which Wesley uses:

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<sup>19</sup> Hildebrandt, Beckerlegge, and Baker (eds.), *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* 739.



From 1562 onwards any man who could read was able to find a useful summary of the rudiments of music in the preface to the books of metrical psalms which provided the musical fare of the service of the church [the 'Old Version' by Sternhold and Hopkins].<sup>20</sup>

Wesley's followed the general pattern common in the eighteenth century; however, Baker and Beckerlegge note that it is rather longer than several other contemporary examples, which they claim makes Wesley's 'far easier to follow' and not dependent on prior musical knowledge: 'Wesley's could be read by the unskilled on his own (for the most part)'.<sup>21</sup> Wesley's text begins with a diagram of the whole range of notes on the treble, alto and bass clefs, stressing the importance of learning them accurately: 'The Gamut is the Ground of all Music, whether Vocal or Instrumental, and therefore ought to be got by Heart both forward and backward, that is, up and down, very perfect.'<sup>22</sup>

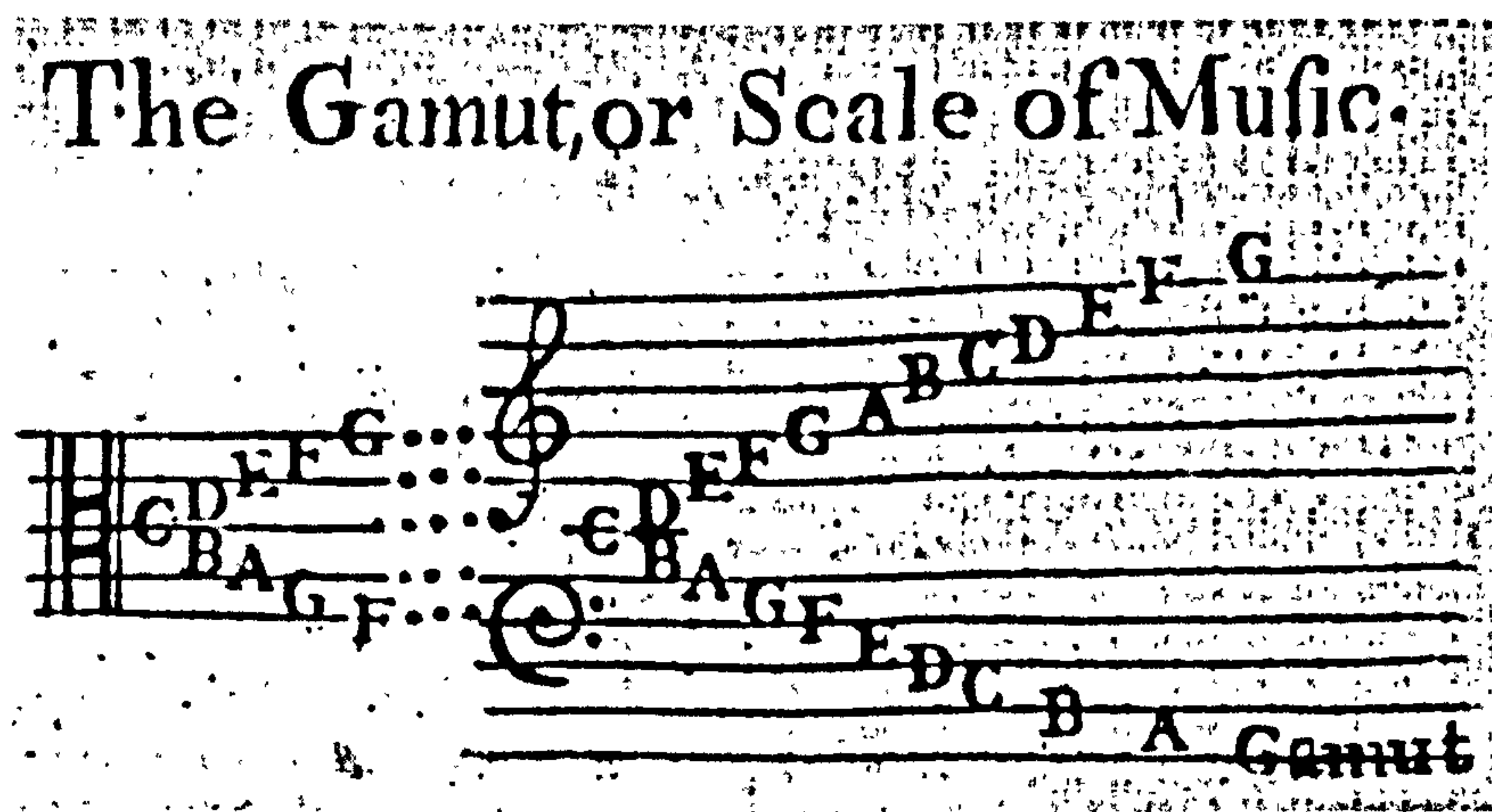


Figure V-1: 'The Gamut or Scale of Music'

However, when describing the tonal system, he simplifies matters by using the four-syllable sol-fa method. The critical aspect of this technique was correctly identifying

<sup>20</sup> Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 17.

<sup>21</sup> Hildebrandt, Beckerlegge, and Baker (eds.), *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* 739.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 740.

*mi*, the seventh degree of the major scale, from which the tonic could be established.

Rainbow notes that students of this method 'learned one of the sets of popular rhyming rules which enabled them to identify the situation of the four syllables in any key.'<sup>23</sup> After explaining the technical aspect of identifying *mi*, Wesley included the following rhyme:

One Flat, in B, removes to E.

Flat B and E, then A is Mi.

If Flat all three, 'tis found in D.

One Sharp in F. then there is Mi.

Sharp F and C. then Mi is in C.

F. C. and G. sharp, Mi's in G.<sup>24</sup>

Explanations of note values, rests and time signatures are dealt with simultaneously in a rather summary fashion, using inversions of the typical diagrams, described by Rainbow: 'The matter of note values was speedily dealt with in these books by a further diagram of traditional form, known curiously as the *Cauliflower*.'<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Bernarr Rainbow, *The Land without Music: Musical Education in England 1800-1860 and Its Continental Antecedents* (London: Novello, 1967) 19.

<sup>24</sup> Hildebrandt, Beckerlegge, and Baker (eds.), *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* 745-46.

<sup>25</sup> Rainbow, *The Land without Music: Musical Education in England 1800-1860 and Its Continental Antecedents* 20.



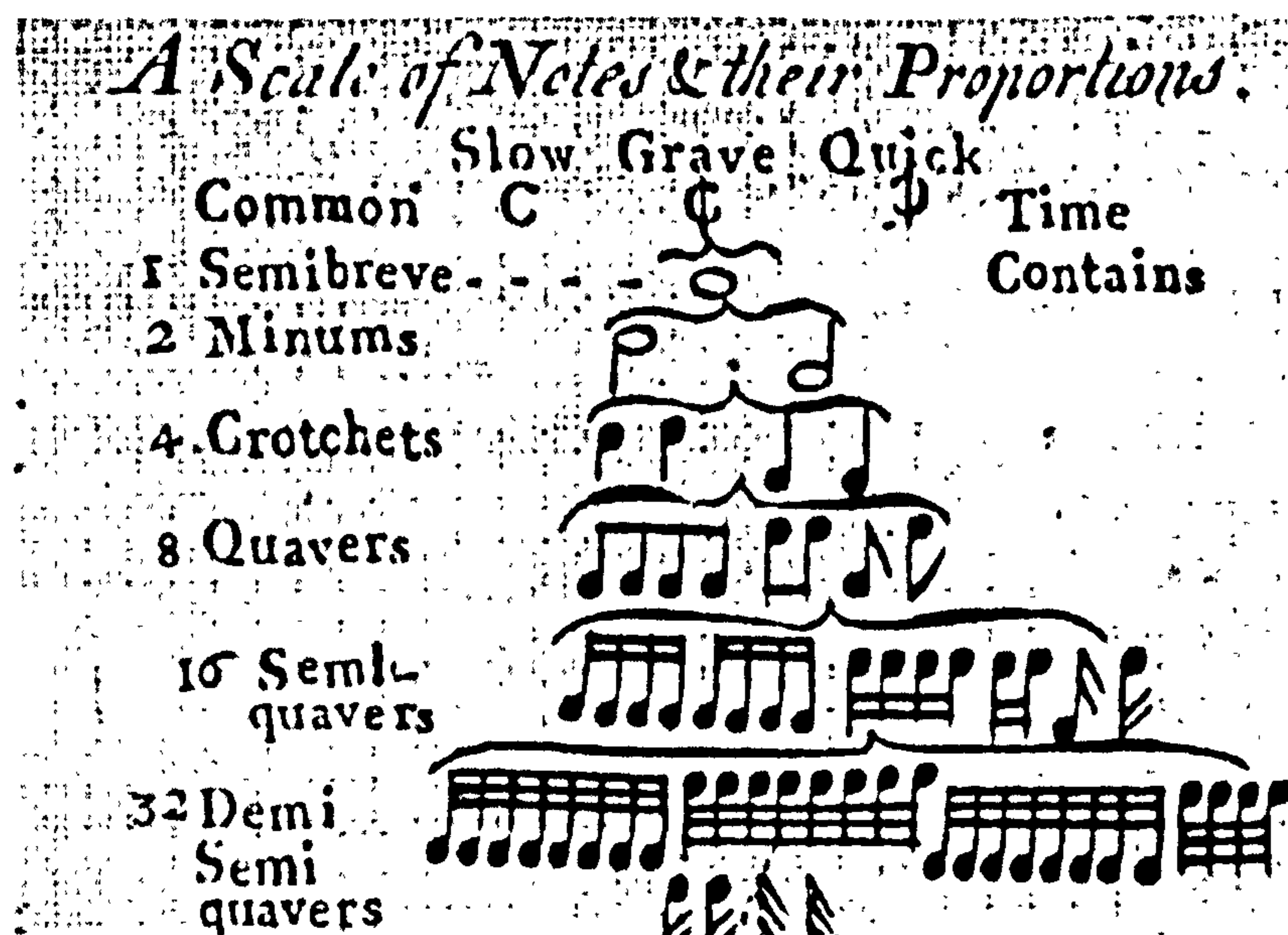


Figure V-2: Inverted 'Cauliflower' diagram of note values from 'The Gamut or Scale of Music'

Practical advice for those leading congregational singing is limited, though instructions for beating the time of the music are provided. However, the language used to describe the required technique is over-complex and contorted, which would have limited its effectiveness somewhat:

In Common Time the Slowest Movement is one Semibreve, or two Minims in a Bar, and is perform'd in Sound while you can leisurely say One, Two, Three, Four, - half thereof with the Hand or Foot down, and the other half up: always observing your Hand or Foot must be put down at the beginning of every Bar, and taken up when the Bar is half Ended.<sup>26</sup>

Although no direct model has been found for Wesley's 'Gamut', its many similarities to other eighteenth-century instructional works indicate a degree of musical awareness and skill. Young explains the absence of a verifiable source in terms of Wesley's intention for *Sacred Melody* as a whole, 'Wesley's customizing of the introduction is consistent with his intent for the collection to serve the special needs of the "People

<sup>26</sup> Hildebrandt, Beckerlegge, and Baker (eds.), *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* 742.

called Methodist.”<sup>27</sup> Lightwood, Young and Baker and Beckerlegge all suggest that Thomas Butts, compiler of *Harmonia Sacra*, may have assisted Wesley in preparing the ‘Gamut’; the latter authors note that ‘His own ‘Introduction’ did not appear in *Harmonia Sacra* until some years later, and shows major differences in content and arrangement, though similarities are present.’<sup>28</sup>

The replacement of the ‘Gamut’ in the second edition of *Sacred Melody* and Butts’ decision not to reproduce it in *Harmonia Sacra* may be explained by the overall style of the text. As noted, it is occasionally contorted and although factually accurate and fairly comprehensive, it is nonetheless somewhat dry and technical in style.

Lightwood asserts that ‘owing to its complicated style, [it] must have proved a hindrance rather than a help to the would-be vocalist.’ While this criticism is perhaps excessive, Lightwood’s basic point is valid; the apparent neglect of a reliable, proven source and its short-lived history bear witness to a well-intentioned but somewhat impractical tool.

### ‘The Grounds of Vocal Music’

Although the ‘Gamut’ was included with some copies of the second edition of *Sacred Melody*, Baker and Beckerlegge note that

shortly after its publication it was displaced in the minority of remaining copies by a completely different musical introduction, in ten numbered sections, closing with seven ‘Lessons for exercising the Voice’. This is entitled *The Grounds of Vocal Music*, and the word ‘gamut’ does not once appear.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 74.

<sup>28</sup> Hildebrandt, Beckerlegge, and Baker (eds.), *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* 739.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. 752.



This was Wesley's second attempt at an instructional guide to the rudiments of music, which also appeared as a separate pamphlet. It was subsequently included with the third and fourth reprints of *Sacred Melody*, while the pamphlet continued to be sold even after Wesley's death; writing in 1927, Lightwood notes that 'it was reprinted about sixty years ago, when it was stated to be 'by the Rev. John Wesley, MA.'"<sup>30</sup>

As with the earlier 'Gamut', the source of this document is unknown: 'no prototype has been discovered which might have furnished a basis or model for Wesley's work.'<sup>31</sup> Significantly, the sol-fa system is abandoned in the text itself, although the usual four syllables are included in a diagram explaining transposition and under the notes of the first vocal exercise. The ten instructional points deal with the following rudiments of music:

- I. note values;
- II. note names;
- III. semitones/tones, sharp (major) and flat (minor) keys;
- IV. Moods (tempi and time signatures);
- V. Beating Time;
- VI. Clefs (clefs);
- VII. general symbols (dotted notes, pauses, rests, slurs, ornaments, repeats);
- VIII. practical instructions for singing a tune;
- IX. Transposition;
- X. working out transpositions.

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<sup>30</sup> Lightwood, *Methodist Music in the Eighteenth Century* 34.

<sup>31</sup> Hildebrandt, Beckerlegge, and Baker (eds.), *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* 752.

In general, the points are considerably more concise than those in the 'Gamut', with simplified diagrams for illustration. Within certain points, numbered lists are employed, adding greater clarity to the text, which makes this a more practicable tool. Compared with the 'Gamut', the instructions for beating time are easily comprehensible, as illustrated by the description of the beat pattern for Common Time,

V. To *Beat Time*, in slow Common Time at the first stroke of the Pendulum strike your hand down; at the second move it to the Right, at the third lift it up, at the fourth move it to the Left. Or (which is more common) sing the first two Notes (Or the first half) of the Bar, with the hand down, and the last half with it up.<sup>32</sup>

The note on clefs indicates that this document was prepared specifically with Wesley's preferred method of unison singing in mind; after introducing the treble, tenor and bass clefs, the instruction continues 'But when we sing only one Part, as in most Congregations, the *Treble* is generally made use of in Composing, though the Part be sung chiefly by Tenor voices.'<sup>33</sup> This point connects the instructions more closely to the musical content of *Sacred Melody* than had been the case with the 'Gamut', and would surely have increased its appeal with those who studied it. This close relationship between the principles outlined and Wesley's preferred performance practice is emphasised further in the final point, dealing with transposition. This uses a clear diagram to assign the four syllables of the sol-fa method to each degree of a two-octave C major scale before describing the necessary adjustments to work out other keys. Significantly, only the treble clef is used,

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid. 757.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.



presumably as *Sacred Melody* would only have required facility in transposing melodic lines.

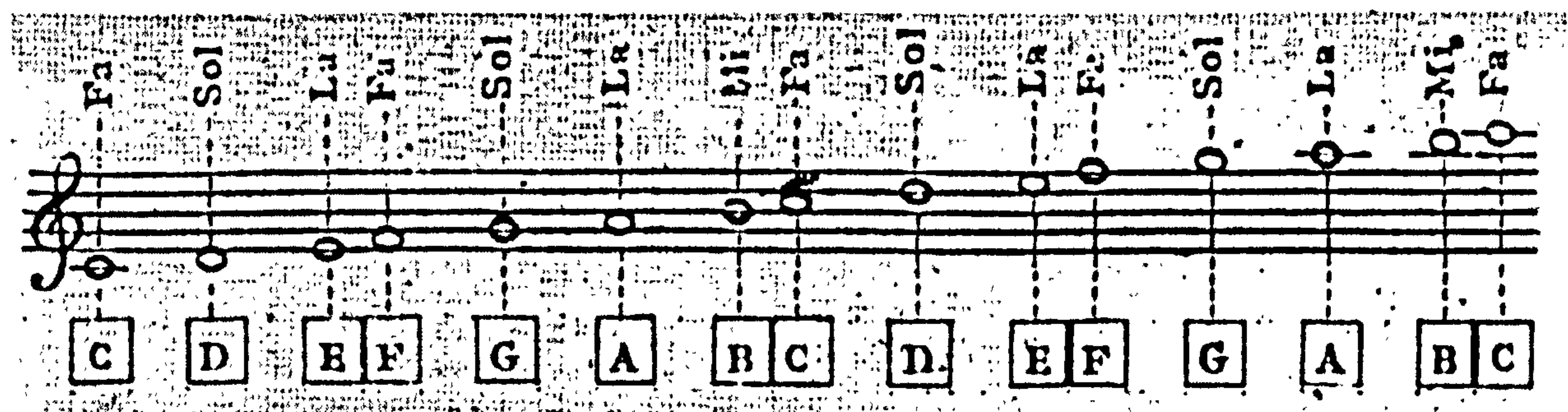


Figure V-3: Transposition diagram from 'The Grounds of Vocal Music'

Further evidence of the increased practical value of the 'Grounds' is revealed in the eighth point, which offers practical advice for those reading the document on how to apply their knowledge effectively when singing the hymns.

VIII. In order to *sing a Tune by the Notes* 1. Perfectly understand these Grounds, 2. Get them well by Heart. 3. Learn to sing the Scale and Lessons readily up and down, and 4. To strike the Intervals at once, that is any Note or any two Notes between C and C: Particularly the Greater and Lesser Thirds.<sup>34</sup>

As well as being in line with Wesley's 'Directions for Singing' in promoting musical accuracy and uniformity across each congregation and throughout the Connexion more widely, this point seems to be a further warning against the 'Old Way of Singing', discussed above. As well as the perceived deficiencies of this style in terms of rhythmic inaccuracy and slow tempi, melodic variance was another characteristic, as described by Temperley, 'A persistent characteristic of the Old Way is the addition of extra notes, which for the time being we may call ornaments, in such profusion as

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. 759.

the make the tune scarcely recognizable'.<sup>35</sup> Commenting on transcriptions of such practices, he notes that

They show movement largely by step, probably resembling portamento; and the extra notes occur in the later portion of each beat, between one note of the tune and the next. The note on the beat is invariably the main note of the tune, not an "ornamental" or added note.<sup>36</sup>

Wesley's conservative musical tastes and his desire for congregational hymnody to be a uniting factor across the whole of Methodism make his apparent attempts to stamp out such variable aspects of performance practice unsurprising. Such musical embellishment clearly represented too great an emphasis on the music itself rather than the 'sense' of what was being sung; for Wesley, the communication of the theological sentiments of a hymn were uppermost in his approach to congregational music and anything that detracted from this spiritual purpose met with his disapproval. Added to his 'Directions' this particular instruction clearly indicates that he wished the Methodists to sing in a purposeful and regular manner in order that they might understand the full spiritual significance of the event they were participating in.

The 'Lessons for exercising the Voice' are designed to develop the student's ability to accurately pitch all the different notes of the scale and to sing the intervals from a second to an octave correctly. They also make use of different note values to ensure rhythmic singing. A short paragraph at the conclusion of the lessons outlines the requirements of the student, again illustrating Wesley's desire for accurate singing,

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<sup>35</sup> Temperley, 'The Old Way of Singing: Its Origins and Development', 525.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 527-28.



‘Let each of these Lessons be got off perfectly and by Heart in the Order they are here placed, so that they all may be sung readily and exactly both in Time and Tune.’<sup>37</sup>

All the lessons are set in G major, using the treble clef, and confined to the octave between g' and g'', which is again indicative of the unison singing style promoted by Wesley in *Sacred Melody*. Lesson 1 is a simple scale in crotchets ascending and descending through the octave using the four syllables of the sol-fa method. The next three lessons repeat this basic exercise but use different note values, minims, semibreves and dotted semibreves respectively, relating to the various ‘Moods’ and time signatures outlined earlier in point IV. The remaining lessons deal with the intervals between a third and an octave. Lessons five and six take one interval at a time and present a thorough method for pitching each instance of it within the major scale, ascending and descending. The first part of the exercise establishes the interval by tracing the route from the lower to the upper note via each pitch in between, and is followed by a repetition of the interval without passing notes. This is repeated on each degree of the scale, first ascending and then descending, before the second part of the exercise requires the students to sing the interval from each note up and down the scale consecutively:

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<sup>37</sup> Hildebrandt, Beckerlegge, and Baker (eds.), *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* 764.

Lesson 5th

3ds. Ascending.

3ds. Descending.

The Proof Notes alone.

Figure V-4: Lesson 5th from 'The Grounds of Vocal Music'

Lesson 7 is more intense, revising the previously-learned intervals, introducing sixths, sevenths and octaves more quickly and concluding with a final test of all the intervals, ascending and descending. The brevity with which the larger intervals are dealt with is perhaps explained by the prevailing melodic characteristics of the hymns tunes; step-wise movement and small leaps predominate, while larger intervals are rarer, generally used only in isolation and at key structural points. The use of quavers in parts of this exercise is clearly intended to prepare the singer for the more decorative tunes in *Sacred Melody*, in which larger intervals are often filled in with rapidly-moving passing notes. A student who had mastered the earlier instructional points and who could successfully negotiate the challenges of this final exercise was presumably deemed to be thoroughly trained in the necessary rudiments of music to accurately sing the tunes in *Sacred Melody*, and possibly to lead other less experienced singers in doing so.



Lesson 7.

Ascending.

3rd.4ths.5ths.

7

6ths.7ths.

13

Descending.

8ths.3ds.4ths.

19

5ths.6ths.

24

7ths.8ths.

28

The Proof Notes alone.

34

Figure V-5: Lesson 7 from 'The Grounds of Vocal Music'

The greater practical value of ‘The Grounds of Vocal Music’ compared with the ‘Gamut’ is clear and reflects Wesley’s determination to establish uniform practice in terms of both style and repertoire and also uniformly high standards of melodic accuracy across the movement. Young notes the important place of these instructions in furthering that aim and the way in which *Sacred Melody*, as a complete volume of instructional material and suitable words and music for use in worship, became an essential expression of Methodist values in this area:

The 1765 edition’s revised “Gamut” met the emerging need for indigenous music leaders, if they are to be effective, to have technical, theoretical, and practical skills. It was this

collection to which Wesley constantly refers to as “our tune-book” and “our tunes”; for example, answers 12 and 8 to question 39 in the “Large” *Minutes*:

(12) Recommend our tune-book everywhere; and if you cannot sing yourself choose a person or two in each place to pitch the tune for you.

(8) In every large society let them learn to sing; and let them always learn our own tunes first.<sup>38</sup>

It is evident that Wesley advocated the use of *Sacred Melody* to promote good practice in all aspects of congregational singing, informed by his theological, doctrinal and musical principles.

### ***‘Thoughts on the Power of Music’: John Wesley and the Aesthetics of Music***

This essay represents Wesley’s most complete theoretical statement on music and musical aesthetics and as such provides an insight into his cultural preferences and the impact these had on his views concerning congregational music. It dates from a period of British music scholarship in which debates concerning the aesthetics of composition, performance practice, style and the more abstract functions and purposes of music were being subjected to close attention. Dominant issues concerned the change of emphasis from imitation to expression as a means of assessing and describing the effects of music and discussion of the differences and relative merits of ancient and modern styles of composition. Both of these issues are apparent in Wesley’s writing, and through comparing his views with those promulgated by mainstream contemporary writers on musical aesthetics and attempting to situate his views within the wider scene of eighteenth-century musical scholarship, it is possible

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<sup>38</sup> Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 78.



to establish parallels with his theological position and to evaluate the way in which he reconciles these diverse influences.

## **Imitation and Expression, Ancient and Modern: Wesley and Contemporary Musical Scholarship**

Wesley begins the essay by giving his definition of the power of music, and immediately makes reference to ancient music:

By the power of music, I mean its power to affect the hearers; to raise various passions in the human mind. Of this we have very surprising accounts in ancient history. We are told that the ancient Greek musicians in particular were able to excite whatever passions they pleased; to inspire love or hate, joy or sorrow, hope or fear, courage, fury, or despair; yet, to raise these one after another, and to vary the passions just according to the variation of the music.<sup>39</sup>

Music and its relation to the passions is a common theme in eighteenth-century musical thought and was a central issue in the changing perception of music, upheld as a clear indicator of the expressive character of music as opposed to the understanding of it as a purely imitative art. Wesley's statement is indicative of his inconsistent position in the ancient-modern argument; at once he is praising the music of the ancients while also subscribing to the modern understanding of music arousing the passions rather than imitating them. The early part of the century had seen much discussion of music as an imitative art, but its limitations were made apparent as early as 1725 in Francis Hutcheson's *An Inquiry Concerning Beauty, Order, Harmony, Design*, and also subsequent essays by others including James Harris and Charles Avison. Through the works of such writers, the concept of musical expression began

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<sup>39</sup> John Wesley, 'Thoughts on the Power of Music', *The Arminian Magazine*, IV (1781), 103-07, 103.

to emerge and by the time of Wesley's essay it had gained much credence. Edward Lippman describes this shifting emphasis as the result of a reassessment of musical understanding,

Now when imitation was regarded more closely it turned out to present peculiar difficulties in connection with music in particular, not to mention that in general it referred to an object external to art as a basis of definition and suggested that the value of art would reside in its fidelity to this object. As a matter of common experience, however, the intrinsic property of music seemed to be expressiveness, or the provocation of some kind of feeling.<sup>40</sup>

The opening of Wesley's essay clearly shows that he subscribes to this new understanding of music and that his primary concern is for the response music can evoke in the listener. James Harris's *A Discourse on Music, Painting, and Poetry* (1744) gives a fuller account of this new understanding of music and it is clear that Wesley is aligning himself with such a position. Lippman outlines Harris's basic arguments:

(1) Music can arouse various affections, just as ideas can. (2) Ideas and affections have reciprocal effects (doleful ideas arouse melancholy, e.g., and melancholy arouses doleful ideas). (3) If an affection is already present – let us say, through the action of music – then ideas corresponding to it will make a greater impression since the affection they naturally arouse will be reinforced by the level of that affection already present.<sup>41</sup>

These views led to a separation of music from the other arts, illustrated in one of the most notable essays on the subject, Charles Avison's *An Essay on Musical Expression*

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<sup>40</sup> Edward A. Lippman, *Musical Aesthetics: A Historical Reader*, Vol. 1, 3 vols. (New York: Pendragon Press, 1986) 175.

<sup>41</sup> Edward A. Lippman, *A History of Western Musical Aesthetics* (Lincoln NE, London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992) 100.



(1752). Avison initially establishes a parallel between music and painting before offering 'expression' as a more appropriate term for the peculiar powers of music in relation to the passions. He argues that musical expression must be articulated through melody and harmony and that its addition to the melody and harmony of compositions greatly enhances their effect, 'for then they assume the Power of exciting all the most agreeable Passions of the Soul. The Force of Sound in alarming the Passions is prodigious.'<sup>42</sup> For Avison, expression is a distinct aspect of music, though arising only from the proper combination of melody and harmony; as such, melody and harmony can never be abandoned in the pursuit of expression, for it is upon these tangible aspects of the music that expression is founded. He associates music exclusively with the arousal of agreeable passions, arguing that adverse passions cannot be aroused by music, only subdued. Expression is distinguished from imitation, as the latter seeks to establish connections in the listener's mind between the sound and the object of imitation whereas the former is concerned with affecting the passions without recourse to external objects. Imitation is identified as a possible cause of compositional defects, when it is used in a forced manner to the neglect of melody and harmony. Lippman states that Avison views expression as

the musical value that should replace imitation. His view of expression, however, is characteristic of the general outlook of his times, for which musical expression is not so much a property or an intrinsic part of music but a matter of its effect and power. Expression is the arousal of passions and affections.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Charles Avison, 'An Essay on Musical Expression, 1752', in Edward A. Lippman (ed.), *Musical Aesthetics: A Historical Reader* (1; New York: Pendragon Press, 1986), 185-200, 186.

<sup>43</sup> Lippman, *A History of Western Musical Aesthetics* 103.

From this, it is clear that music was held to have its own affective properties, independent of any external influence. The relationship with ideas, or concepts introduced by another medium, is of particular significance when considering Wesley's attitude towards music, especially with regard to congregational hymnody, the music of which, by definition, has external ideas associated with it through the use of a text. Wesley's views are at least in part aligned with those expressed by Avison, while his echoing of the substance of Harris's argument illustrates that the effective wedding of music and text takes on a vital role in the successfulness of a hymn in communicating with those singing or hearing it. Furthermore, the Methodist understanding of hymns as both acts of praise and evangelistic tools highlights the importance of achieving suitably compatible words and music; according to this understanding of the power of music, the impact of a hymn text will be assisted by a tune that arouses similar responses from the singer or listener.

Although the primacy of voice and melody over instruments and harmony was traditionally associated with the imitative nature of music, the emerging understanding of music as an art rather than a mathematical science gave greater emphasis to the expressive melodic qualities of music.<sup>44</sup> Imitation was commonly associated with the ancients, and the direct imitation of their compositional styles was strongly advocated. However, John Neubauer notes that 'ironically the resultant music was expressive rather than imitative in the narrow sense',<sup>45</sup> as it did not strictly conform to the conventions of ancient music, instead adopting the basic principle of melody-driven composition, but realised according to eighteenth-century stylistic preferences. This paradox is evident in Wesley's writing and further evidence of it

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<sup>44</sup> John Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language: Departure from Mimesis in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 1986) 64.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. 71.



may be observed in the tunes he selects for his collections, all of which had been relatively recently composed. Later in the essay he advocates such a return to ancient principles:

And if ever this [counterpoint] should be banished from our composition, if ever we should return to the simplicity and melody of the ancients, the effects of our music will be as surprizing as any that were wrought by theirs; yea, perhaps they will be as much greater as modern instruments are more excellent than those of the ancients.<sup>46</sup>

More significant than the precise nature of Wesley's musical response to the ancient style, however, are his views on the effects that music can have, and how such opinions relate to his musical practice and his theological beliefs. His praise of Greek music is due to its affective properties and it is this, rather than the precise formulation of ancient melodies, that is crucial to understanding his musical preferences.

Such elevation of ancient Greek music as the paragon of affective music is a characteristic trait of much eighteenth-century scholarship, particularly in considerations of simplicity and the sublime. Wesley expounds the virtues of this music, arguing that it is its simple melodic structure and avoidance of harmony or counterpoint that produces such results: 'The ancient composers studied melody alone, the due arrangement of single notes; and it was by melody alone that they wrought such wonderful effects. And as this music was directly calculated to move the passions, so they designed it for this very end.'<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Wesley, 'Thoughts on the Power of Music', 107.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 104.

Rousseau's writings on music are among the most famous to claim the superiority of ancient Greek music over modern music; his argument is based on the emotive qualities and the purity of the relationship between text and music found therein: 'The combined theories of the *Discours*, *Lettre* and *Essai* emphasise the primitive origins of song and the dependence of music on language. Melody is seen to have pre-eminence over harmony, and therefore ancient music, evinced for Rousseau in the music of the Greeks, is also considered superior to modern musical genres.'<sup>48</sup>

The key factor is the simplicity of the Greek music, which was seen as its greatest strength and the standard to which all music composed thereafter should aspire.

Rousseau's affirmation highlights the significance of this simplicity in the connection between music and text, which is also a vital aspect in understanding Wesley's views.

Wesley's praise of 'Scotch and Irish airs' rests on the same premise, that the melody rather than the harmony is the defining quality of the music. Scottish folk music had become an established part of the British musical identity in the latter half of the eighteenth century, partly due to the seasonal migration of many middle- and upper-class Scots to London. Claire Nelson notes that the melodic characteristics of such music attracted the attention of scholars, though generally those from disciplines other than music, 'Intellectuals working outside music were... fascinated by native melody, particularly that of Scotland. Exotic and 'foreign' enough to allow upper-class interest (despite its folk roots), the simplicity and historicity (and non-Italianate

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<sup>48</sup> Michael Gelbart, 'Scotland and the Emergence of 'Folk Music' and 'Art Music'', PhD (University of California, 2002) 125. Such views can also be found in the writings on music of British philosophers, particularly in Scotland, where Rousseau's work had been widely read. Claire M. Nelson, 'Creating a Notion of Britishness: The Role of Scottish Music in the Negotiation of a Common Culture, with Particular Reference to the 19th Century Accompanied Sonata', DMus (Royal College of Music, 2003) 47-48.



characteristics) of Scots airs soon became an antiquarian and literary preoccupation.<sup>49</sup>

Thus Wesley's attitude to this music is reflective of contemporary opinion, and is easily reconcilable with his views on ancient Greek music. He goes on to claim that the simplicity of such music makes it more powerful, 'And this is not only heard, but felt, by all those who retain their native taste, whose taste is not biased (I might say corrupted) by attending to counterpoint and complicated music. It is this *counterpoint*, it is *Harmony* (so-called) which destroys the power of our music.'<sup>50</sup>

It is difficult to situate Wesley's views in a purely musicological framework, as his arguments do not fall exclusively in line with either the ancient or modern agenda, rather, he rehearses some of the widespread opinions of writers from both sides of the debate, fusing them together in an attempt to advocate a melody-orientated compositional style that gave attention to the clarity of the text, but not stylistically idiomatic of ancient music. This seemingly inconsistent approach is best considered in relation to Wesley's theological beliefs, as his views on music are inextricably bound up with his attitude towards congregational worship and devotion.

Given the crucial role of music in Methodist worship and the advancement of the evangelistic cause of the movement, the polemic and occasionally paradoxical arguments in Wesley's essay can be understood as the logical outworking of his respect for tradition and pragmatic approach to the needs of the Methodist movement. Wesley's appreciation of the music of the ancient composers is premised on the fact that it was supposed to have been an effective communicative tool, more suitable for conveying meaning through text than modern contrapuntal idioms. As with his stance

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<sup>49</sup> Nelson, 'Creating a Notion of Britishness: The Role of Scottish Music in the Negotiation of a Common Culture, with Particular Reference to the 19th Century Accompanied Sonata', 34.

<sup>50</sup> John Wesley, 'Thoughts on the Power of Music', *The Arminian Magazine*, 11 (1780), 103-07, 107.

on doctrine and church structures, Wesley sought to uphold this principle, but to reapply it in a manner that befitted the social, educational and cultural background of eighteenth-century Methodism. Rather than replicating the ancient model exactly, Wesley's solution was to advocate a new melody-dominated style of composition, thus upholding the virtue of simplicity observed in ancient music, and to combine it with theologically-rich texts in order that the affective qualities of the music might allow effective and affective communication with the congregations who sang the hymns.

To situate Wesley's musical views within a purely musical framework misses the most critical aspect of all his attempts at scholarly writing; above all, he was a pragmatist, whose primary concern was for the spiritual well-being and development of the emerging Methodist societies, and whose written statements need to be regarded as serving a definite purpose within the life of Methodism, rather than as purely objective academic contributions. His ambiguous position within the ancient-modern debate is therefore unsurprising; his admiration of ancient music is chiefly driven by his belief that it offered a valuable model for the development of modern music, and ultimately for the furtherance of the message of salvation through hymn singing. His use of melody-driven contemporary melodies, such as those by Lampe, reflects the practical, if somewhat eccentric outworking of this principle.

Considered in terms of Wesley's wider beliefs and practices, 'Thoughts on the Power of Music' can be understood as an important statement on one of the most crucial aspects of Methodist life and spirituality. Taken in an isolated, musical context, it is clearly inconsistent but it is best understood as a practical attempt to codify the



criteria for aesthetically suitable music in accordance with Methodism's theological and doctrinal principles.

## Part II: The Music of Eighteenth-Century Methodism

### VI. *A Collection of Tunes, Set to Music, As they are commonly Sung at the Foundery (1742)*<sup>1</sup>

This volume was John Wesley's first collection of hymn tunes; the cover gives its publication and sales information as follows:

LONDON: Printed by A. PEARSON, and sold by T. HARRIS, at the *Looking Glass and Bible*, on *London-Bridge*; T. TRYE, at *Gray's-Inn-Gate, Holborn*, and at the *Foundery*, near *Upper-Moorfields*, MDCCXLII.<sup>2</sup>

It was intended to provide tunes for the substantial *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, which was published in three volumes (1739, 1740, 1742). Despite the large number of hymns contained therein, the *Foundery Collection* contains only 43 tunes, two of which are different versions of the same melody. The tunes are loosely arranged according to their metre, of which fifteen basic types are represented, though many tunes extend their basic metrical structure. The book is characterised by its many musical errors and poor editing but is of seminal importance as John Wesley's first attempt to direct the musical life of the Methodist movement. It attracted much criticism from scholars due to its poor quality, typified by James Lightwood's description of it as 'one of the worst books ever published – not as regards the quality

<sup>1</sup> Hereafter *Foundery Collection*. See Appendix A for full bibliographic details of all tunes.

<sup>2</sup> John Wesley and Bryan F. Spinney, *A Collection of Tunes, Set to Music. As They Are Commonly Sung at the Foundery [Facsimile Reprint of 1742 Edition]* ([Bristol]: [ ], 1981).



of its tunes, but in reference to their setting down.’<sup>3</sup> Carlton Young defends its significance in the development of Methodist musical repertoire:

The *Foundery Collection* was the testing ground for Wesley’s view that congregational song was important in linking Methodism’s characteristic preaching services, society meetings, love feasts, and annual meetings. Guiding his selection of tunes were the breadth of the societies’ tastes and varying levels of musical instruction.<sup>4</sup>

The size of the collection would have limited its efficacy and the low standard of music editing would also have made its use difficult. However, the contents of the book offers a considerable insight into Wesley’s views on music and early Methodist practice in this area; the origins of the tunes indicate musical influences and opinions, aspects of performance practice may be gleaned from the editorial practice, the metrical variety indicates the influence of Charles Wesley’s poetry, and the musical styles reflect both the views of John Wesley and the social background and cultural experience of the early Methodists, for whom this volume was intended. Nelson Adams argues that despite the practical limitations of the volume, its importance in understanding future musical developments in Methodism cannot be underestimated:

A quick glance... will give ample proof of the poor quality of printing and musical editing apparent in this volume. A bit more time spent in perusal of the genealogical narratives will offer convincing proof of the quality of the tunes and the far reaching effect this collection has had in church hymnody.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Lightwood, *Methodist Music in the Eighteenth Century* 16.

<sup>4</sup> Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 55.

<sup>5</sup> Nelson F. Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', *Doctor of Sacred Music* (Union Theological Seminary, 1973) 67.

Despite the practical limitations of the volume, the *Foundery Collection*'s status as the first collection of tunes associated with Methodism makes it vitally important in understanding the function and purpose of hymns within the movement in its earliest years. Its tunes, drawn from sources outside Methodism, were set to hymn texts, which, by their inclusion in *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, had received Wesley's approval for use within Methodism, and in many instances were actually written by Charles Wesley. Thus they were intended to play a crucial part in the communication of the theological message of the movement and to be a prime means of cultural engagement. While the poor quality of the collection may have stymied this intention to some degree, the reference in its subtitle 'as they are commonly sung' indicates that, at least within the Methodist Society at the Foundery near Moorfields, this function was already being fulfilled, prior to the publication of the collection. These combinations of texts and tunes, which, at the time of publication, were all unique to the *Foundery Collection*,<sup>6</sup> can be interpreted as distinctively Methodist in their poetical and musical expressions of theology and doctrine. Therefore, the musical styles and characteristics of these settings need to be considered as a vital part of Methodist identity in the eighteenth century, for it was through these very hymns and those published in subsequent collections that much of Methodism's evangelistic work took place and in which can be found the most succinct and memorable expressions of its beliefs.

The collection contains tunes from a variety of sources, reflecting Methodism's eclectic background and the religious experiences of John Wesley. Representative examples of each of these stylistic categories will be used to illustrate their particular

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<sup>6</sup> Using the *Hymn Tune Index*, a search of all the texts set in the collection reveal that none of them had previously been set to music in a published volume.



musical characteristics, while examples from across all these styles will serve to illustrate the more general characteristics of the collections as well as its editorial limitations.

Most notably, the *Foundery Collection* contains many tunes of German origin, which have practical significance in providing metrical and stylistic variety but also make an important theological statement about the purpose and practice of congregational singing, reflecting Moravian influence. Their musical characteristics combine to grant primacy to the text and sustain musical interest, as was Wesley's theological intention. By including such tunes, Wesley is affirming their suitability for congregational use, thus making both a practical statement concerning the musical qualities of the tunes, and a theological statement concerning their accordance, and that of the associated texts, with the theological aims of Methodism.

As discussed earlier, the Moravian understanding of hymnody as a didactic and evangelical tool greatly impressed John Wesley. The use of tunes from this tradition, with their proven history of effective use in such tasks indicates Wesley's determination to appropriate this method of religious expression for Methodist use. The musical vitality of many of these tunes was a key feature of their popularity and in using specific examples and the underlying principles, Wesley's selection of tunes in the *Foundery Collection* indicates his desire to make the music of Methodism appealing to its followers and thus a memorable means of communicating a theological message.

Spencer's model of the sacred, secular and profane helps explain the influence of the Moravian understanding and use of hymnody on Wesley, particularly the practice of using hymns in a way that embodies within the act of corporate singing the essence of the message being communicated through the hymn texts themselves. Although the textual influences may be most easily accommodated within Spencer's discourse, there are also resonances with the musical influence of Moravian hymnody on Methodism, in particular concerning its effectiveness in cultural engagement. The stylistic qualities of the Pietist tunes resemble neither the traditional church forms of polyphony or plainchant nor the staid chorale melodies or psalm tunes of earlier centuries, but are more closely aligned with contemporary secular genres such as popular song. However, it is important to note that these melodies originated within the church; Spencer argues that the composition or selection of music to respond to a religious text through its musical features can engender within the believer who sings or hears it the particular religious sentiment of the hymn or a response to its exhortation.<sup>7</sup> The heightened significance of congregational hymnody as an evangelistic tool and the use of music as a medium for its communication can be interpreted within this model, for the unity of text and music was crucial in ensuring that the theological message was conveyed in a memorable fashion to those who sang and heard the hymns. The music becomes associated with a particular text, and by definition, the theological message contained therein. In this understanding, the singing of hymns takes on a great spiritual importance, both at an individual level and for the wider worshipping community.

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<sup>7</sup> Spencer, *Theological Music: Introduction to Theomusicology* 39.



The appropriateness of tunes such as those learned from the Moravians for Methodist purposes may be understood in terms of Thomas and Manning's concept of 'The Iconic Function of Music'<sup>8</sup>. They claim that music, properly suited to a particular religious function, can take on some of the qualities of the theological message it represents; referring to the use of plainchant in the Latin Mass, they argue that 'The music is included in such a way that it harmonizes with the actions and the text and becomes part of the whole.'<sup>9</sup> Although the context of Methodist worship is rather different, the same principle applies: the music, chosen to encourage participation through its stylistic familiarity and technical simplicity, relates to the texts in a more meaningful manner than simply as a subordinate vehicle for their communication. The accessibility of the music works in parallel with the theological message of the texts, which were inspired by the evangelical desire to communicate the universal offer of salvation and the invitation to all to participate in the religious community by faith. Thus, the music and text of such hymnody within the religious and cultural environment of Methodist worship become a complete entity synonymous with the ethos and purpose of the movement.

### ***Title and Origins***

The intriguing title of the volume, while hinting at tautology, offers some insight into the circumstances in which the book was published and its intended function. Young suggests that 'The tunes are presumed to be the favorites of Wesley and the society gathered for worship in the abandoned cannon factory or foundry in Moorfield'.<sup>10</sup> Wesley's relations with the Moravians at Fetter Lane worsened throughout 1740,

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<sup>8</sup> Terence Thomas and Elizabeth Manning, 'The Iconic Function of Music', in David Brown and Ann Loades (eds.), *The Sense of the Sacramental: Movement and Measure in Art and Music, Place and Time* (London: SPCK, 1995), 159-71.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 163-64.

<sup>10</sup> Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 54.

culminating on 16 July in him being prohibited from preaching there. Collins notes that 'Frustrated with this turn of events, as well as with the larger issues entailed, Wesley issued an ultimatum at Fetter Lane four days later, at which point he, along with eighteen or nineteen others, mostly women, left the society and began to meet at the Foundery.'<sup>11</sup> Thus Wesley's descriptive title indicates that this is intended to be a distinctively Methodist book, reflecting the musical practice of the Methodist Society at the Foundery and setting down its musical repertoire as an exemplar for Methodism more widely.

The tautology suggested by the use of 'tunes' and 'music' in the title may be indicative of performance practice at the Foundery; Young notes that the precise meaning of the title 'is not clear, although it is probable that Wesley taught tunes by rote to the society'.<sup>12</sup>

### ***Metrical Structures and Texts***

Many of the texts set in this collection were written by Charles Wesley, and are typically in a wide range of metres, many of which were not previously associated with congregational hymns. Many of these tunes were to set a precedent for future hymnals, both within Methodism and beyond, and a number of the hymns set here have become some of Charles Wesley's best-known works, virtually synonymous with Methodism itself. The range of metres represented and the number of tunes associated with each of them is shown in the following table:

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<sup>11</sup> Kenneth J. Collins, *John Wesley: A Theological Journey* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2003) 112. Wesley's ultimatum criticised the doctrine of stillness and sought to defend the doctrine of justification by faith.

<sup>12</sup> Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 54.



Metre	Number of Tunes
Common Metre (CM: 8 6 8 6)	8
Long Metre (LM: 8 8 8 8)	8
8 8 8 8 8 8	5
7 7 7 7	4
Common Metre Doubled (DCM: 8 6 8 6 8 6 8 6)	3
Short Metre (SM: 6 6 8 6)	2
Short Metre Doubled (DSM: 6 6 8 6 6 6 8 6)	2
6 6 6 6 8 8	2
7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7	2
Long Metre Doubled (DLM: 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8)	1
7 6 7 6 7 7 7 6	1
8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8	1
10 10 11 11	1
8 3 3 6	1
6 6 7 7 7 7	1

Table VI-1: Metres used in the *Foundery Collection* (Adapted from Adams, 1973: 71)

***Tunes: Styles and Sources, Editing and Practice***

Nelson Adams identifies four categories of hymn tune within the *Foundery Collection*, German tunes, English tunes, secular adaptations and original works, although the majority of tunes fall into the first two of these categories.<sup>13</sup> He claims that fifteen of the forty two tunes have a German origin, while the majority of the remainder are drawn from English sacred music sources: ‘A few melodies come from the ancient psalters, but most of them come from psalters from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries which often included several hymns permissible in the Anglican communion.’<sup>14</sup> The musical heritage of the different categories of tunes is

<sup>13</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 69-70.  
<sup>14</sup> Ibid. 69.

significant on many levels; the variety of musical sources used by John Wesley reveals much about his attitudes towards music and the suitability of certain styles for use in worship. The particular religious traditions from which various tunes are drawn and their use of music within those traditions gives some indication of the function and significance accorded to music by Wesley, while the variety of musical styles is indicative of the social and cultural groups that Wesley hoped to attract to Methodism.

Adams’ division of tunes according to these categories is as follows in Table 2:

Origin	Hymn Numbers
German	1, 3, 8, 10, 13, 14, 19, 27, 28, 29, 30, 35, 36, 37, 41
English	2, 5, 9, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 31, 32, 33, 34, 38, 39, 40, 42
Secular Adaptation	4
Original/No known source	6, 7, 11, 24

Table VI-2: Sources of tunes in the *Foundery Collection* (adapted from Adams, 1973: 70)

Revised Origins for Tunes

More recent evidence suggests that some of Adams’ classifications are questionable; these are printed in italics in the table above and are discussed below, with specific reference to their citations in Nicholas Temperley’s *The Hymn Tune Index*.

Tune 21: *Wenwo Tune*

Adams classes this as a tune from an English source, but notes that ‘F[oundery] is the earliest published source.’<sup>15</sup> It appears in several later sources, most of which are associated with Methodism, but never in an exact copy of this version. The *Hymn*

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. 96.



*Tune Index* lists no prior sources, suggesting that this tune should be categorised as having no known source, rather than as originating in an English source.

### ***Tune 24: Bromsgrove Tune***

This is the only recorded instance of this version of the melody; Adams speculates that it may have been composed by William Tans'ur, but describes the version here as 'much too weak to be useful.' He suggests that it may have originated in this collection or that its transcription is too poor to accurately identify its source, choosing to categorise it as original to the collection. The *Hymn Tune Index* suggests that the tune may be a corrupted version of a melody, often attributed to Tans'ur or James Green, which first appeared under the title CROWLE in James Green's *A Book of Psalm-Tunes* (5<sup>th</sup> edition, London: William Pearson, for Oswald Carlton and John Lowe, Gainsborough, 1724), and was published in some 416 sources.<sup>16</sup> Although in a different metre (8.6.8.6. as opposed to 6.6.6.8. in the *Foundery Collection*), the first and third phrases exhibit some similarities:



Figure VI-1: CROWLE, first published 1724<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*. This catalogues tunes until 1820.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., Tune 1084a. This version conforms exactly to the melodic pattern of the original, but is taken from George Booth and Henry Coward (eds.), *The Primitive Methodist Hymnal: With Accompanying Tunes* (London: M.T. Pickering, 1889) Tune 1021ii.

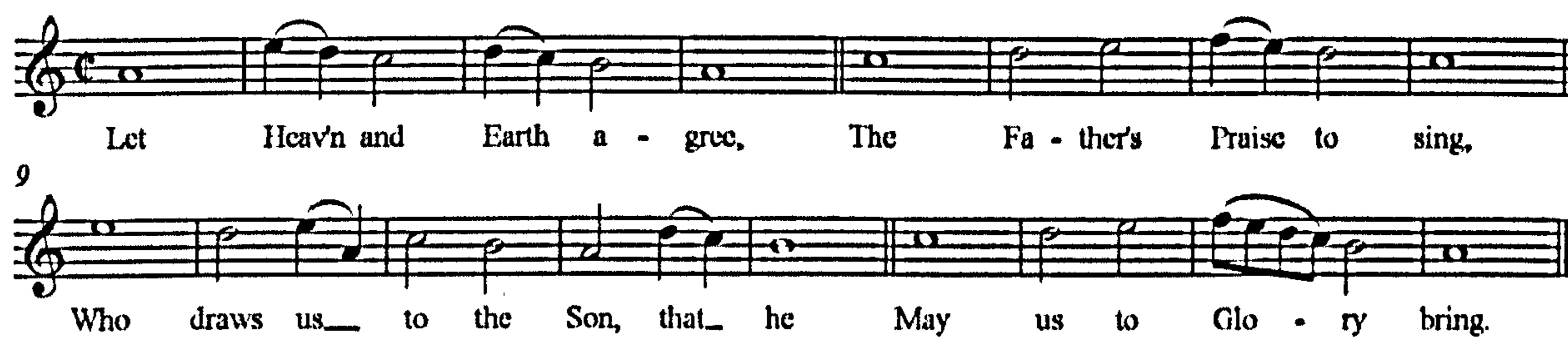


Figure VI-2: BROMSGROVE TUNE in the *Foundery Collection*<sup>18</sup>

Tans'ur is the first composer/compiler to label the former version BROMSGROVE, beginning in the 1743 printing of his *The Royal Psalmodist Complete*.<sup>19</sup> Although the editor of the *Foundery Collection* succeeded in creating a unique version of the melody, these similarities in both melody and nomenclature suggest that this tune should be classed as originating in the English Psalm Tune tradition rather than in the *Foundery Collection* itself.

### **Tune 35: Cardiff Tune**

Adams acknowledges that there are no prior sources for this tune, but claims that its active melody line, which contains many passing notes and extended syllables, resembles the tunes of Germanic origin in the collection, and thus categorises it with these, suggesting that it may be a transcription of a poorly remembered chorale melody. The *Hymn Tune Index* lists three variants of this tune, the later versions styled WELCH; the *Foundery Collection* version does not appear in any later publications, but both alternative versions are clearly derived from it, and only appear in sources closely related to Methodism. Interestingly, later versions generally replicate the version first published in either George Whitefield's *The Divine Musical Miscellany* (1754), or Thomas Butts' *Harmonia Sacra* (1754), both of which drew on

<sup>18</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 1649

<sup>19</sup> Earlier sources all use the title CROWLE, while Tans'ur's 1742 edition labels the tune BUCKINGHAM. Almost all other sources that style it BROMSGROVE after Tans'ur are in some way related to his publications.



the *Foundery Collection*. However, Wesley's two editions of *Sacred Melody* (1761/5) include a third version, which shows the influence of the 1754 version, but reverts to some of the original features from the 1742 version, while both editions of *Sacred Harmony* (1781/90) include the 1754 version. The first two phrases of each illustrate these changes:



Figure VI-3: CARDIFF TUNE in the *Foundery Collection* (phrases 1-2)<sup>20</sup>

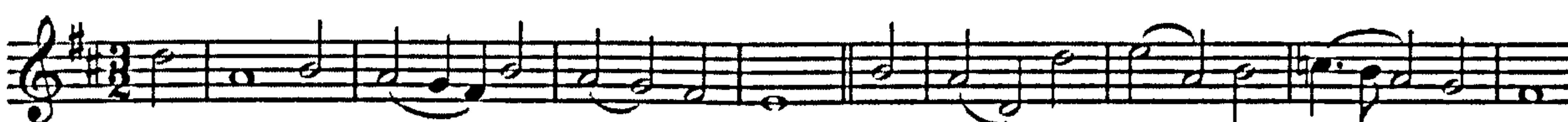


Figure VI-4: WELCH in *Sacred Melody* (phrases 1-2)<sup>21</sup>

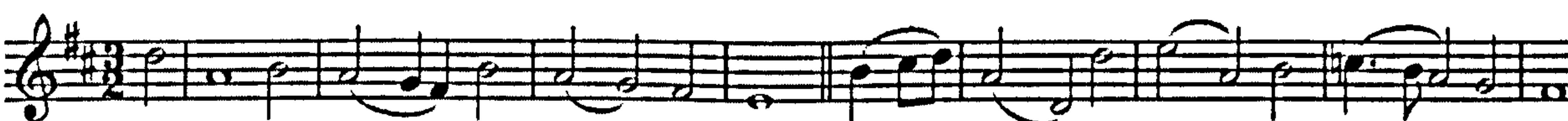


Figure VI-5: WELCH in *Sacred Harmony*, first published in *The Divine Musical Miscellany and Harmonia Sacra* (1754) (phrases 1-2)<sup>22</sup>

The lack of sources and the limited subsequent publication history of the tune, solely in Methodist sources, give scant evidence that this tune has German roots. Although its melodic characteristics are reminiscent of some of the chorale melodies included in the *Foundery Collection*, the lack of earlier or contemporary sources suggest that it is more logical to classify this tune as having no known source.

<sup>20</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 1650a.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., Tune 1650c.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., Tune 1650b.

### **Tune 39: Playford's**

Adams classifies this as an English tune, though notes that this melody has a dual history, appearing in both English and German sources from the mid-sixteenth century, though the first German source is slightly earlier. The tune's traditional association with metrical settings of the Lord's Prayer is mirrored in English and German sources. The *Hymn Tune Index* cites Martin Luther as the original composer.<sup>23</sup> The version found in the *Foundery Collection* was first published as LORD'S PRAYER in John Playford's *The Whole Book of Psalms: Compos'd in three parts* (1677), which explains the nomenclature found here. Playford also included the original version in *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1670), where it was styled GENEVA, possibly suggesting a continental source.<sup>24</sup> Robin Leaver's comments on exiled English psalmody in the period 1553-1558 gives further evidence of the Germanic source of this tune: 'In Strassburg the Sternhold and Hopkins metrical psalms were augmented by English translations of Luther's *Vater unser in Himmelreich* and *Erhalt uns, bei deinem Wort*.<sup>25</sup> While the source used by the *Foundery Collection* for the melody was clearly English, this evidence indicates that the original source of the tune was German rather than English.

### **Tune 40: Swift German Tune**

Adams mistakenly lists this with the tunes of English origin, though begins his description of it by noting that it is a German chorale 'first published by G. R. Wittwe in Hamburg in 1690.'<sup>26</sup> The *Hymn Tune Index* notes that it was 'adapted from the

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., Tune 130a.

<sup>24</sup> Thomas Ravenscroft's *The Whole Booke of Psalmes: composed into 4. Parts by sundry authors* (1621) labels the tune HIGH DUTCH.

<sup>25</sup> Robin A. Leaver, 'Liturgical Music as Corporate Song I: Hymnody in Reformation Churches', in Robin A. Leaver and Joyce Ann Zimmerman (eds.), *Liturgy and Music: Lifetime Learning* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998), 281-307, 288.

<sup>26</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 116.



German hymn ‘Wer nur den lieben Gott’, which was in 9.8.9.8.8.8 metre’.<sup>27</sup> It is clear that this tune should be grouped with those of German origin.

Discussion of these four tunes indicates that Adams’ classifications require some amendment, though the proportions remain roughly the same between the four classifications. The table below incorporates the revisions outlined above:

Origin	Hymn Numbers
German	1, 3, 8, 10, 13, 14, 19, 27, 28, 29, 30, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41
English	2, 5, 9, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 31, 32, 33, 34, 38, 42
Secular Adaptation	4
Original/No known source	6, 7, 11, 21, 35

Table VI-3: Sources of tunes in the *Foundery Collection* (revised from Adams, 1973: 70)

Characteristics of the different Musical Styles

*German Tunes: the Influence of Moravian Hymnody*

In keeping with the collection overall, the majority of the tunes of German origin are in the major mode; only four of the sixteen tunes listed above are in the minor mode. John Wesley’s ability to match suitable tunes with texts, which Adams argues is one of the key features of this volume, is evident here; the tunes in the minor mode are all set to texts that are either penitential in character or seeking comfort and assurance, illustrated respectively by these verses:

And wilt thou yet be found?  
And may I still draw near?

<sup>27</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 1664a.

Then listen to the plaintive Sound  
of a poor Sinner's Prayer.  
Jesu thy Aid afford,  
If still the same thou art;  
To thee, I look, to thee, my Lord,  
lift up an helpless Heart.<sup>28</sup>

My Father, O my Father, hear  
thy weakest Child's imperfect Call!  
Now as a Servant I appear,  
and yet thou know'st me Heir of all.  
O make me know as I am known;  
Speak, Father, am I not thy Son?<sup>29</sup>

These German tunes also add considerable metrical variety to the collection; amongst the sixteen tunes, twelve distinct metres are found, together with doubled versions and different extensions of some of these. Notably, ten of the German tunes are in metres other than the basic SM, CM, or LM forms or their doubles.<sup>30</sup> This serves to broaden the range of texts set in the collection considerably, which would have greatly assisted the communication of Methodism's message through the use of many of Charles Wesley's hymns that are in metres represented by these tunes.

Many of the German tunes assist textual communication through predominantly syllabic setting of the text; this accords primacy to the text, in accordance with the intention of using them to communicate a theological message. SWIFT GERMAN TUNE

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<sup>28</sup> Charles Wesley, set to RESIGNATION TUNE, in A minor.

<sup>29</sup> Headed 'In Doubt' in *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (Volume 3, Page 142-144, 1742), set to SLOW GERMAN TUNE in A minor.

<sup>30</sup> These are usually referred to in abbreviated form: SM (6.6.8.6.), CM (8.6.8.6.), LM (8.8.8.8.) or DSM, DCM, DLM.



illustrates this characteristic clearly; there are only three points at which the text setting is not entirely syllabic, but even these only involve a simple passing note between pitches a third apart.<sup>31</sup>

The image displays a musical score for a hymn titled 'SWIFT GERMAN TUNE'. It consists of four staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written in both German and English. The first staff begins with a measure rest, followed by the lyrics 'Fa - ther of Light, from whom pro - ceeds'. The second staff continues with 'Whose Good - ness pro - vi - dent - ly - nigh'. The third staff starts with a measure rest, followed by 'What Feeds e'er the young ev' - ry Crea - ture needs, cry.'. The fourth staff begins with a measure rest, followed by 'To thee, I look; my Heart pre - pare, Sug - gest and - heark - en to my Pray'r.'. The score includes various musical notations such as eighth notes, quarter notes, and half notes, with some measures containing rests. There are also some decorative notes and phrasing slurs.

Figure VI-6: SWIFT GERMAN TUNE

The melodic construction of these tunes also makes them highly suitable for congregational singing; decorative notes, although more prevalent in some tunes than shown above, are usually used in a straightforward manner that never impedes the melody. They create melodic interest beyond purely syllabic setting, which is further enhanced by a balance between largely step-wise movement and larger intervals, adding emphasis to particular textual aspects, often at the start of phrases. These characteristics are typified in the tune SAVANNAH, which Adams describes as ‘probably the most accurately transcribed German source used by Wesley’ in this collection, arguing that it must have been copied directly from Wesley’s own copy of Freylinghausen’s *Gesangbuch* (1704).<sup>32</sup> However, the *Hymn Tune Index* states that

<sup>31</sup> Tune 1 HEMDYKE TUNE and tune 39 PLAYFORD’S TUNE also illustrate this characteristic, the latter being an entirely syllabic setting.

<sup>32</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 81.

the melody is derived ‘from the German hymn ‘Dich, Jesu, loben wir’. The tune, originally 6.6.8.7.8.7, is considerably altered here.’<sup>33</sup> Nonetheless, the tune’s textual clarity balances successfully with features of sufficient musical interest to ensure that it would be memorable for those who sang and heard it. The tune also illustrates melodic balance in terms of pitch, as ascending and descending phrases counterbalance each other, ensuring that although the melody extends rather high in a typical vocal range, these extremes are relieved by passages that utilise the middle and lower vocal registers; the overall shape of the melody begins with downward motion, followed by an ascending pattern through the third to fifth phrases, before a descent in the final phrase.

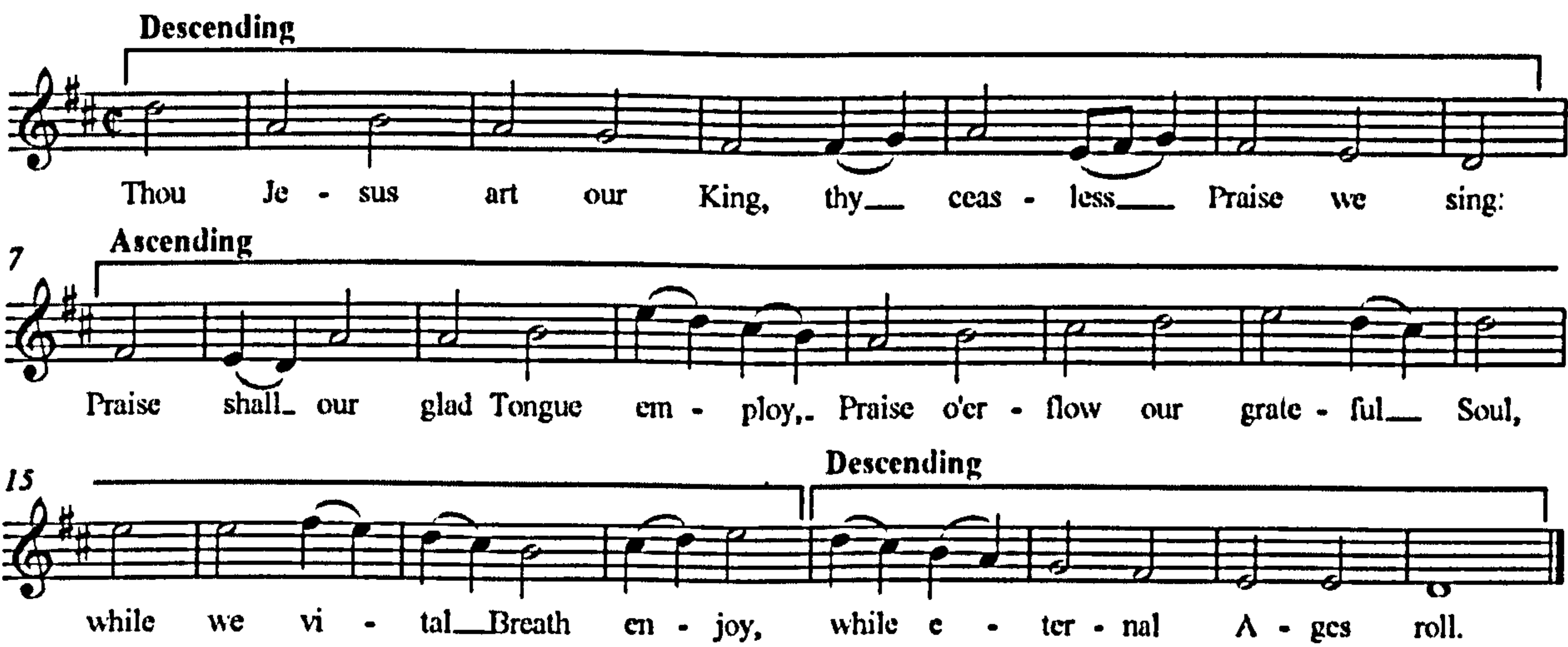


Figure VI-7: SAVANNAH TUNE

The phrase structures and use of repetition and sequence in several of these tunes also affirm their suitability for congregational song. These features add an element of predictability to the tunes, which would aid a congregation in learning to sing them.

<sup>33</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 1662a. The only other HTI citation is for a closely related version, Tune 1662b, which is found in Thomas Hutton’s *The Tunes for the Hymns in the Collection with several translations from the Moravian Hymn-Book* (c.1744). ‘The first Moravian hymnbook in English was published by Hutton in 1741 as a private undertaking.’ J. Taylor Hamilton and Kenneth G. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church: The Renewed Unitas Fratrum, 1722-1957* (Bethlehem, PA: Interprovincial Board of Christian Education, Moravian Church in America, 1967) 81.





contrasting passages of heightened rhythmic activity with simpler passages, representing another form of compositional balance that characterises these melodies in so many ways. AMSTERDAM TUNE is defined by its rhythmic vitality, contrasting simple syllabic setting using crotchets and minims with more complex decorative rhythmic and melodic features with syllables extended over pairs of quavers. These passages always occur within phrases, allowing a clear structure to be maintained throughout, which would enable a congregation to sing this melody without being distracted by extensive rhythmic complexity.

The musical score for the Amsterdam Tune is presented in three staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The melody is written in a simple, rhythmic style using crotchets and minims. The lyrics are in German: "I will heark - en what my Lord\_ shall say\_ con - cern - ing me. Hast thou not\_ a gra - cious Word for one\_ that waits on thee?". The second staff continues the melody and lyrics: "Speak it to my Soul, that\_ I may in\_ thee have Peace and\_ Pow'r,". The third staff concludes the melody and lyrics: "ne - ver from\_ my Sa - viour fly, \_ and ne - ver\_ grieve thee more." The lyrics are written in a simple, sans-serif font, with hyphens used to indicate syllables that span across multiple notes.

Figure VI-9: AMSTERDAM TUNE

These German tunes owe their inclusion in the *Foundery Collection* and subsequent Methodist hymnals to John Wesley’s connections with the Renewed Moravian Church. As noted, hymnody played an important role in Moravian religious life and came to exert a profound influence on Wesley in both thought and practice. Moravian hymnals date back to the very beginning of the sixteenth century and are among the first recorded Protestant hymnals. Hymn singing formed a large part of the devotional life of the community at Herrnhut and their musical practices such as *Singstunde* had a significant impact on John Wesley.



Hamilton and Hamilton argue that the significance of Zinzendorf's *Singstunden* lay in the use of music to convey particular theological messages and to engender a heightened sense of spirituality among the participants:

He actively cultivated within the Herrnhut congregation an appreciation of the spiritual power of hymnody and gradually developed a unique kind of service called the Singstunde, which became in time his favorite form of public worship.... The congregation, which possessed an unusual command of the hymnal, would fall in with the leader before he reached the end of the first line of each stanza, singing by heart. No address was given on such occasions; none was needed.<sup>34</sup>

Colin Podmore comments that under Zinzendorf's guidance, 'Moravian life was increasingly marked by festivity and celebration, music, art, colour and light.'<sup>35</sup>

The specific tunes included in the *Foundery Collection* reflect two different historical strands in German hymnody, both mediated through the Moravians. Some of the tunes date from the sixteenth century and are typical examples of the chorales used by the Lutheran churches; these employ predominantly syllabic text setting and are rhythmically simple. Examples in the *Foundery Collection* include PLAYFORD'S TUNE, believed to have been written by Martin Luther himself, and THE 113<sup>TH</sup> PSALM TUNE, first printed in the *Strasbourg Psalter* (1542), both discussed above. However, the majority of the tunes originate within Pietism and date from the latter half of the seventeenth century onwards; many were published in Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen's *Neues Geistreiches Gesangbuch* (Halle, 1704), which Robin Leaver notes 'not only became the hymnal of German Lutheran Pietism, it also became a

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<sup>34</sup> Hamilton and Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church: The Renewed Unitas Fratrum, 1722-1957* 37.

<sup>35</sup> Podmore, *The Moravian Church in England, 1728-1760* 17.

primary resource for both Moravianism, as reconstituted by Count Nikolas von Zinzendorf in 1722, and Methodism under the Wesley brothers, John and Charles.<sup>36</sup> Leaver notes that hymns in the Pietist tradition 'were set to new melodies that were lighter and more expressive than the older chorale tunes that had become slow and ponderous by this time.'<sup>37</sup> Tune such as AMSTERDAM and SAVANNAH fall into this category. Clifford Towlson argues that the musical influence of Moravianism on Wesley should be considered among the most significant aspects of his contact with them: 'it was the sublime achievement of the Moravians that they introduced him, and through him thousands of his followers, to the beauty, the dignity, the reverence, the fitness of the German chorale, and to the personal and intimate song of the great Pietists.'<sup>38</sup>

### ***English Tunes: Metrical Psalmody***

Using the revised table of tune origins above, just under half of the tunes in the *Foundery Collection* derive from English sources, mostly dating from the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. Some were composed by notable musicians of the period, such as Jeremiah Clarke, William Croft and William Tans'ur, while others are by well-known composers of earlier generations, including Thomas Tallis and Orlando Gibbons. A considerable range of sources is evident, including famous psalters such as *The Divine Companion*, edited by John Playford (1701), recent publications such as Tans'ur's *Compleat Melody, or Harmony of Zion* (1734/5), and versions of older psalters, such as *A Supplement to the New Version of Psalms by Dr. Brady and Mr. Tate* (6<sup>th</sup> ed, 1708).

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<sup>36</sup> Leaver, 'Liturgical Music as Corporate Song I: Hymnody in Reformation Churches', 296.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 295.

<sup>38</sup> Towlson, *Moravian and Methodist: Relationships and Influences in the Eighteenth Century* 195.



The basic features of tonality and metre in these tunes differs markedly from these aspects of the German tunes discussed above. Here, of the twenty tunes, twelve are in the major mode and eight in the minor mode, which is a much more even balance than is the case among the German tunes. Furthermore, given the origins of these melodies in the English metrical psalm tradition, it is unsurprising to find that sixteen of them are composed for one of the typical metrical patterns associated with this style of church music, Short Metre, Common Metre and Long Metre, or double verses of these. Of the four tunes in other metres, two are in the familiar metre of 7.7.7.7 (one, SALISBURY with 'Hallelujahs' added), one is in the pattern 8.8.8.8.8., which features prominently among the German tunes, while the only metre represented solely by these tunes is BROMSWICK, which has the metrical pattern 10.10.11.11. Although these tunes would commonly be associated with a metrical version of a particular psalm, here they are set to hymn texts often written by Charles Wesley. Thus, we find tunes being appropriated for a distinctly Methodist purpose, although obviously related to their original context.

Many of the English melodies are simple, straightforward psalm tunes, typical of the style found around the turn of the eighteenth century. They employ syllabic text setting, exclusively in some cases, and have regular rhythmic and phrase patterns, as befits the regular nature of the textual metres associated with them. FETTER LANE TUNE is a typical example of this type of tune; composed for a Short Metre text, the rhythm of the first, second and fourth lines is identical, corresponding with their syllabic content, with the exception of a note of anticipation at the very end of the tune. This reflects the text closely, as each of these lines begins with 'O', and the first two lines only differ in their final words. The longer third line is based on the

opening rhythmic gesture of the initial phrase, minim-crotchet-crotchet-minim, which occupies four syllables, and repeats this twice to fit in the eight syllables, lengthening the last note to a semibreve. Although the textual accents divide the line into five syllables followed by three, ‘My gracious Saviour | and my God’, the audible emphasis of the rhythmic patterns is still closely related to the other lines. The text setting is syllabic throughout, and the only note of decoration is the anticipation of the final note. The harmonic implications are also simple; the first phrase begins and ends in the tonic, while the second and third phrases end on the dominant, before the final phrase returns to the tonic. The melody of the first and last phrases is virtually identical, differing only on the first note and with the inclusion of the note of anticipation in the final phrase, which adds to the overall structural uniformity of the tune.



Figure VI-10: FETTER LANE TUNE

Some of the English tunes have greater musical variety than FETTER LANE TUNE, exploiting a wider vocal range and a more lyrical melody, with occasional syllabic extension and melodic decoration, while still adhering to the basic characteristics outlined above. BROMSWICK TUNE is an excellent example of this style of English tune; although it has only two points of syllabic extension, a passing note and a note of anticipation appearing in consecutive pairs of crotchets at the end of the second phrase, its predominantly step-wise movement and melodic contours create a melody



of considerable interest that would be easily memorable. The first phrase is an overall ascent, though with an internal ascent and descent, remaining in the tonic, complemented by an overall descent in the second phrase, which modulates to the dominant. The third phrase returns immediately to the tonic, its first and third bars mirror each other, before a climactic rise onto the dominant, leading to the final phrase, which has a smaller vocal range and a strong cadence in the tonic key to relieve the tension of the previous line. The tune is given considerable momentum by the regular use of an anacrusis at the start of each phrase. As with FETTER LANE TUNE there is a considerable degree of rhythmic unity, as the first two phrases employ an identical rhythmic pattern, except for minor decoration in the second phrase, while the third and fourth phrases are absolutely identical. However, the greater melodic variety renders this tune more memorable, making use of melodic and harmonic balance in addition to rhythmic repetition rather than more precise melodic repetition.

The image displays a musical score for the 'Bromswick Tune' in G-clef, 3/2 time. It consists of four staves of music, each with a corresponding line of lyrics underneath. The lyrics are: 'Fa - ther of Man - kind, be e - ver a - dor'd, Thy Mer - cy we find in send - ing our Lord; To ran - som and bless us, thy Good - ness we praise, For send - ing us Je - sus Sal - va - tion by Grace.' The score includes bar lines and a final double bar line at the end of the fourth staff.

Fa - ther of Man - kind, be e - ver a - dor'd,  
5  
Thy Mer - cy we find in send - ing our Lord;  
10  
To ran - som and bless us, thy Good - ness we praise,  
15  
For send - ing us Je - sus Sal - va - tion by Grace.

Figure VI-11: BROMSWICK TUNE

Some tunes derive their interest from the harmony implicit in their melodic structure. ST MATTHEW’S TUNE illustrates this style; it is a long tune in Double Common Metre,

but manages to sustain interest throughout by its harmonic variety, with modulations to several related keys:

Phrase	Cadence Type	Key
1	Perfect	C major
2	Perfect	G major
3	Imperfect	C major
4	Perfect	C major
5	Perfect	A minor
6	Perfect	E minor
7	Imperfect	C major
8	Perfect	C major

Table VI-5: Tonal structure of ST MATTHEW'S TUNE

Adams notes that this version of the tune removes much of the interest of the original by applying a pattern of long-short note values almost exclusively, but argues that the clear yet varied harmonic structure nonetheless illustrates the ‘inherent quality and effectiveness of the melody.’<sup>39</sup>



Je - su, thou art my Righte - ous - ness, For all my Sins were thine,

Thy Death hath brought of God my Peace, Thy Life hath made him mine.

Spot - less and Just in thee I am, I feel my Sins for - giv'n;

I taste Sal - va - tion in thy Name, And an - te - date my Heav'n.

Figure VI-12: ST MATTHEW'S TUNE

<sup>39</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 98.



Other tunes develop this basic style by making greater use of melodic decoration and melodic leaps, usually between pitches with a common harmonic basis. EVESHAM TUNE provides a good example of this style of composition, using passing notes, auxiliary notes and notes of anticipation as melodic decoration, notably in the fourth and fifth phrases, where much shorter note values are used than those found in the tunes discussed above. This tune also extends the basic metrical structure, in this case Long Metre, by repeating the final phrase of text set to a different melodic phrase. These are the only two ornamented phrases in the tune, and although the ornamentation results in less textual clarity than in previous phrases, the repetition adds emphasis to the text. The melody of the first phrase is also notable, as it is guided by harmonic implications rather than step-wise melodic contour; the second bar outlines the tonic triad before reaching the tonic an octave higher and ending on the leading note. This suggests a desire to create melodic interest early on in the tune, where the rhythm and syllabic setting are both very simple, but the demands placed on the voice by the rapid angular ascent are significant; Adams describes this as an 'odd and awkward' tune.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 118.

O that thou would'st the Hea - vens rend!

O that thou would'st this Hour come down!

De - scend Al - migh - ty God, de - scend,

And strong - ly vin - di - cate thine own,

And strong - ly vin - di - cate thine own.

Figure VI-13: EVESHAM TUNE

Other tunes extend the basic metre in more complex ways, either as an integral part of the composition, as in the case of SALISBURY TUNE or as an appendage to an otherwise conventionally structured melody, such as BRISTOL TUNE. Adams notes the development of the latter practice, which was to become a feature of many later Methodist tunes: ‘Another important aspect of [BRISTOL] tune as located in F[oundery Collection] is that it contains a refrain or chorus, a practice which we will find quite common in later “Methodist” tunes. If this portion of the F[oundery] tune has a prior existence, it has not been located as yet.’<sup>41</sup> The *Hymn Tune Index* lists this version of the tune as the first instance of a deviant form of a melody by William Croft, ‘followed by a hallelujah in some sources.’<sup>42</sup> This addition bears no resemblance to the main melody as it changes time signature, contains many musical errors not found in the earlier section; additionally, the original text in *Hymns and Sacred Poems*<sup>43</sup> does not include hallelujahs at any point. This suggests that this version of the tune,

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 95.  
<sup>42</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 642b.  
<sup>43</sup> Vol 1, page 138



subsequent publication of which was usually in Methodist-related books, reflects a particular performance practice among the Methodists, presumably applied more widely than just this instance. The poor musical grammar of the appendage, together with its association with a pre-existing tune, whose origins lay outside Methodism, suggests a predominantly oral mode of transmission, rather than a musical culture in which new tunes, complete with hallelujahs were specifically composed or transcribed. The quality of the published result of this practice is extremely low and is one of the worst editorial examples in the volume.

The image shows a musical score for the Bristol Tune. It consists of three staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first staff has a common time signature (C) and contains the lyrics: "O thou, who when I did com - plain, Didst all my Griefs re - move,". The second staff has a 9-measure rest at the beginning and contains the lyrics: "O Sa - viour do not now\_ dis - dain, My hum - ble\_ Praise and\_ Love." The third staff has an 18-measure rest at the beginning and contains the lyrics: "Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu - jah\_ A - men." The music is written in a simple, somewhat awkward style, with many ties and awkward phrasing.

Figure VI-14: BRISTOL TUNE

By comparison, the more integrated extension of SALISBURY TUNE through the insertion of hallelujahs at the end of each line of text is rather more successful both musically and textually. The text is Charles Wesley’s ‘Christ the Lord is ris’n today’, titled ‘Hymn for Easter-Day’ in *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, making the celebratory inclusion of hallelujahs fitting for the intended use of the hymn.<sup>44</sup> Although the tune is fairly complex overall, including many ornaments and short note values, the most complex sections occur while ‘Hallelujah’ is being sung, thus ensuring that a high

<sup>44</sup> HSP Vol 1, page 209. This combination of text and tune has become synonymous with Easter Sunday for Methodists. The same combination can be found in virtually all Methodist hymnals, including the most recent, *Hymns and Psalms* (1983).

degree of textual clarity is maintained throughout the other parts of the tune.

Interestingly, while many of the other tunes borrowed from earlier sources are used with texts far removed from their original setting, notably where metrical psalm tunes are set to new hymns by Charles Wesley, this setting retains a much closer link with its original source. According to the *Hymn Tune Index*, this tune was first published in *Lyra Davidica* in 1708 under the title RESURRECTION, and set to the text ‘Jesus Christ is risen today’. Thus, the festal nature of the tune, exemplified by the florid hallelujahs, had been associated with Easter long before Wesley’s setting; therefore, this new setting surely sought to exploit the pre-existing contextual association of the music to reinforce the theological message of Charles Wesley’s text, typified by the fifth stanza:

Soar we now, where CHRIST has led?  
Following our Exalted Head,  
Made like Him, like Him we rise,  
Ours the Cross – the Grave – the Skies!

The musical score for the Salisbury Tune is presented in four staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes. The first staff begins with a 5-measure rest, followed by the lyrics 'Christ the Lord is ris'n to Day, Hal - le - lu - jah,'. The second staff begins with a 5-measure rest, followed by 'Sons of Men and An - gels say, Hal - le - lu - jah.' The third staff begins with a 9-measure rest, followed by 'Raise your Joys and Tri - umphs high, Hal - le - lu - jah.' The fourth staff begins with a 13-measure rest, followed by 'Sing ye Heav'ns, and Earth re - ply. Hal - le - lu - jah.'

Figure VI-15: SALISBURY TUNE



The inclusion of these tunes, which all come from the English church music tradition, is indicative of Methodism's early history as a revival movement within the Church of England. The range of tunes illustrates the accepted forms of congregational song with Anglicanism of the time; the vast majority of the tunes were composed for inclusion in metrical psalters, which had been the most common form of congregational musical participation since the Reformation. Here, a commonality with continental practice may be observed in both the music itself and its use within worship. Robin Leaver notes that in 1589, following the death of Queen Mary, English Protestant exiles began to return to their home country, having been influenced by the religious practices of their European counterparts: 'Among other things, they brought with them their experience of continental hymn and psalm singing, as well as the psalters they had used in their exile congregations.'<sup>45</sup>

Musically, there are many similarities between several of the tunes of German and English origin in the *Foundery Collection*; the simple, syllabic settings from both traditions share directness and concision that afford clarity to the text and allows the music to be taught and learnt quickly and efficiently.<sup>46</sup>

However, Adams also notes that the sources of the English were 'psalters from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries which often included several hymn tunes permissible in the Anglican communion.'<sup>47</sup> This shows that Wesley was aware of the development of congregational hymnody in addition to psalmody, and wished to reflect this practice within the worship of Methodism, thus aligning it with the development of Anglican church music. Additionally, the inclusion of SALISBURY

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<sup>45</sup> Leaver, 'Liturgical Music as Corporate Song I: Hymnody in Reformation Churches', 289.

<sup>46</sup> The discussion of SWIFT GERMAN TUNE and FETTER LANE TUNE above provides illustration of these musical similarities.

<sup>47</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 69.

TUNE from *Lyra Davidica* reflects the most recent developments in congregational church music composition. The composition of elaborate tunes flourished in the early eighteenth century, and the desire to include more complex melodic patterns within a strophic setting led to the inclusion of a short refrain, such as the hallelujahs found in this tune, as this avoided the problems caused by the necessity of fitting the same tune to different stanzas of text. Discussing the development of such tunes, Nicholas Temperley comments that 'if they were to be actual 'tunes' rather than 'set pieces', they must be capable of strophic repetition, and it was this that formed the only check on the proliferation of elaborate psalmody.'<sup>48</sup> He cites this tune from *Lyra Davidica* as the most notable early example of a solution to this problem, stating that the unknown compiler of the volume was 'certainly a competent musician.'<sup>49</sup> The *Foundery Collection* therefore reflects both the best of this new practice, but also attempts to record its development within Methodism, through the poorly edited appendage to BRISTOL TUNE. The significance of the inclusion of such musical material is that it reflects a clear attempt to embrace current practices and trends and to appeal to those who favoured this mode of congregational singing, attempting to draw them into the movement by setting specifically Methodist texts to tunes that were either familiar in themselves or familiar in style and performance practice.

### ***Adaptation of Secular Music***

The *Foundery Collection* contains one tune, JERICHO, adapted from a secular source, Handel's opera *Riccardo Primo* (1727). The result is a poorly edited tune, impossible for congregational use, through a process described by Adams as 'detestable'.<sup>50</sup> The editorial failings apparent in this tune will be discussed in detail hereafter, but despite

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<sup>48</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* 171.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. 172.

<sup>50</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 69.



these, its inclusion is still valuable as it provides an indication of Wesley's attitudes towards the use of secular music for sacred purposes. The tune is taken from a march in the opera, the strong rhythmic aspect of the music and its confident, purposeful melody obviously made it suitable for consideration as a congregational melody. Furthermore, the popularity of Handel's operas, written in the High Baroque style that had attained considerable prestige, suggests another feature in favour of its adaptation. Its inclusion reflects an attempt to include a range of styles of music that would be familiar and appealing to people from a wide cross-section of society. This prototype adaptation, despite its many flaws, is indicative of a desire to communicate a theological message through the medium of music to people from a cultural background in which artistic genres such as opera were commonplace. Also, its musical characteristics meant that it would have had a wider appeal as a memorable tune, had it been effectively edited.

### ***Original Tunes***

Interestingly, four of the five tunes that have no traceable history prior to the *Foundery Collection* are given names associated with South Wales. In his facsimile edition of the collection, Brian Spinney writes in his notes on CARDIFF TUNE that 'Wesley preached at Cardiff (and Fonmon, Penmark, Wenvo) in March 1742.'<sup>51</sup> The only tune in the collection that originates from a Welsh source is ST MARY'S TUNE, which the *Hymn Tune Index* notes was 'First printed for the Welsh Psalm 2 in Edmwnd Prys, *Llyfr y Psalmau* (London, 1621)'.<sup>52</sup> However, this tune had been published in many Anglican sources during the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, including successive editions of Playford's *The Whole Book of Psalms*,

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<sup>51</sup> Wesley and Spinney, *A Collection of Tunes, Set to Music. As They Are Commonly Sung at the Foundery [Facsimile Reprint of 1742 Edition]* 39.

<sup>52</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 542a.

from which other tunes in the *Foundery Collection* are taken. Adams notes that 'This tune, which was at least two hundred years old by Wesley's time, suffered very little alteration by the editors of the Anglican books.'<sup>53</sup> The *Hymn Tune Index* lists no prior sources for CARDIFF, WENVO, PENMARK or FONMON, but the scope of its catalogue is confined to tunes appearing in English-language publications. The possibility cannot be overlooked that these tunes may originate in a Welsh-language psalter or hymnal, and may have been remembered by Wesley from his preaching tour of South Wales in early 1742. This supposition is supported by the use of other tune names associated with Methodism in the collection, including Bristol, Fetter Lane and Hernhuth and also by Adams' suggestion that several tunes in the collection were 'pricked by ear' rather than copied from written sources. Furthermore, since every other tune in the collection can be traced to a prior publication or a specific composer, there is little evidence to suggest that any tunes were specifically composed for the collection or for the Methodist Society at the Foundery, among whom these tunes were 'commonly sung'.

Alan Luff's study *Welsh Hymns and Their Tunes: Their background and place in Welsh History and Culture* does not refer to tunes with any of these names, but notes that after the tunes printed in Prys' *Llyfr y Psalmau*, 'what is certain is that there was no further publication of tunes for the Welsh metrical psalms until 1770.'<sup>54</sup> Luff goes on to argue that the dearth of publications between 1621 and 1770 'does not indicate a lack of interest in singing.'<sup>55</sup> He notes that attempts were being made to improve congregational singing prior to the Welsh Revival of 1734, largely through the work

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<sup>53</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 89.

<sup>54</sup> Alan Luff, *Welsh Hymns and Their Tunes: Their Background and Place in Welsh Culture and History* (Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1990) 133.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.



of travelling singing teachers, some of whom became connected with Methodism.<sup>56</sup>

He also refers to the very basic level of musical training and experience of many of the leaders of singing in Welsh parishes, which was often to remain the case throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>57</sup> Despite a widespread inability to read music, they often made efforts to improve the singing in their parish:

It seems to have been common for them to show an interest in the music of the parish and to hold classes, presumably to teach tunes. There was as yet no book in Welsh on the elements of music for them to use, and some of the teachers must have known little more than their pupils. Some of them seem to have been sceptical of those who claimed to be able to decipher a tune from the marks on a page. In any case the singing was in unison, as it was to remain for many years.<sup>58</sup>

The combined factors of the lack of publication of Welsh tunes and the low level of musical literacy within the Welsh churches and chapels suggest that the transmission of tunes was a largely oral culture. Therefore, the proliferation of variant forms of tunes is highly likely, and it may be that these four tunes in the *Foundery Collection* emerged from such practices, observed by Wesley on his tour of South Wales. The lack of any written source for these melodies would explain both the absence of any publication history and also the awkward musical features found therein, perhaps resulting from the combination of a partially remembered tune and a musical editor of limited skill, as evinced by the overall quality of the collection.

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Often holding the office of *clochydd*, these men were also responsible for bell-ringing, and, as sexton, for grave-digging. Ibid. 134.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

There are certain musical similarities between three of these four tunes, FONMON, PENMARK and CARDIFF, which are written in the same style as several other tunes in the collection, using flowing melodies with some decorative notes to sustain interest while maintaining a clear sense of tonal direction and rhythmic momentum and affording primacy to the text.

FONMON TUNE uses predominantly step-wise movement and leaps between harmonically-related notes and has a clear, if basic, implied tonal structure, remaining in C major throughout, strengthened by its cadential structure:

Phrase	Cadence Type
1	Perfect (ending on 3)
2	Imperfect
3	Imperfect
4	Perfect (ending on 1)
5	Perfect (ending on 3)
6	Perfect (ending on 1)

Table VI-6: Cadential structure of FONMON TUNE

Rhythmically, the tune is fairly regularly structured, with most phrases beginning with an anacrusis, while those that do not follow clearly structured cadences. Adams concedes that this tune, despite its lack of provenance and the editorial problems of several incorrect word accents, has some merit: ‘If this tune is original with the editor of F[oundery], then in this instance he can be congratulated for having written a fairly good tune.’<sup>59</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 80.



The image shows a musical score for a hymn titled 'FONMON TUNE'. It consists of four staves of music, each with a tenor clef (C-clef on the fourth line). The lyrics are written below the notes. The first staff starts with a measure number '7' and contains the lyrics 'Je - su the Truth, the Way, The Life in us ap - pear,'. The second staff starts with a measure number '14' and contains the lyrics 'Thy Glor - ious Arm dis - play, and bring Sal - va - tion near.' The third staff starts with a measure number '19' and contains the lyrics 'The great Sal - va - tion thou hast wrought, a -'. The fourth staff continues the lyrics 'bove the Reach of Hu - man Thought.' The music is written in a simple, clear style with various note values and rests.

Figure VI-16: FONMON TUNE

PENMARK TUNE is one of the six tunes in the *Foundery Collection* set in the tenor clef rather than the usual treble clef, printed as ‘g’ on the stave. Consequently, it extends rather lower than would be considered usual for a congregational melody, and has a large range of a twelfth, extending from d to a’. Each half of the tune is supposed to be repeated, indicated by *segno* marks, though there is only one line of text throughout, unlike the other tunes which include repeats. The second half of the melody makes considerable use of extended syllables, particularly in the third phrase, where a rhythmic pattern of dotted crotchet-quaver is used throughout the first two bars. The melody has a clear four-phrase structure, each phrase ending with a semibreve; harmonically, the first phrase implies a modulation to the dominant, while the second and third phrases end with imperfect cadences in the tonic key, before a final perfect cadence in the tonic at the end of the fourth phrase, which again gives a clear sense of structure and a balance between tension and resolution. This sense of balance also extends to the melody itself; the first and fourth phrases are lightly ornamented, the second phrase is entirely syllabic, written wholly in minims, and the third phrase is the most decorative.



Hea - v'nly Fa - ther, So - v'reign Lord, E - ver faith - ful to thy Word,

9



Hum - bly we our Seal set to, Tes - ti - fy that thou art true.

Figure VI-17: PENMARK TUNE

CARDIFF TUNE exhibits some of the typical editorial problems of the *Foundery Collection*, discussed hereafter, which inhibit its structure and sense of direction from bar nine onwards, as it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish phrases. Nonetheless, the melody itself is well-balanced, making use of syllabic extension in a fairly regularised way and using sequential patterns to guide the singer through the several melodic leaps that occur. Tonally straightforward, there is an implied modulation to the dominant at the end of the fourth phrase, while all other cadences are either perfect or imperfect within the tonic key. Melodic decoration takes the form of frequent passing notes and some auxiliary notes. Overall, it is stylistically similar to both FONMON and PENMARK tunes, particularly in its melodic character.



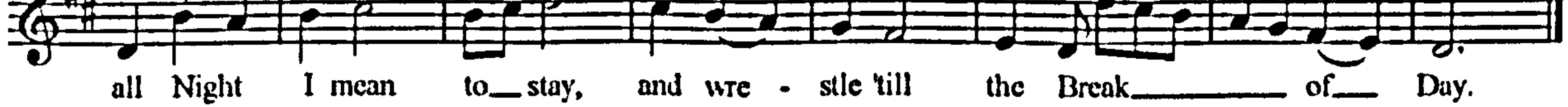
Come O thou Tra - vel - ler un-known, Whom still I hold, but can - not see, my

9



Com-pa - ny be-fore is gone, and I am left a - lone with thee, with thee

17



all Night I mean to stay, and wre - stle 'till the Break of Day.

Figure VI-18: CARDIFF TUNE



The similar melodic characteristics of these three tunes outlined above reflect most closely the compositional style of some of the eighteenth-century English melodies in the *Foundery Collection*. FONMON and CARDIFF tunes in particular exhibit a strong degree of melodic and structural commonality with tunes such as ISLINGTON; all are in triple time, all make heavy use of anacrusic phrase beginnings and associated syllabic and stress patterns in such phrases, according to the following pattern:



Figure VI-19: anacrusis pattern

Further similarities can be observed in the balanced approach to melodic writing; all three tunes contrast largely step-wise movement with occasional leaps, often at the beginning of phrases and usually between harmonically-related pitches, with serves to add emphasis to the text and ensures musical momentum is maintained. Crotchet progressions dominate the rhythmic construction of each tune, with quavers and dotted figurations used to add interest and variety. A comparison of ISLINGTON TUNE, below, with these melodies of unknown provenance will illustrate these points, and suggests that they were composed in the early-eighteenth century.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>60</sup> This is the first recorded setting of ISLINGTON TUNE, though the *Hymn Tune Index* and Spinney suggest that it was based on an aria-like psalm tune by Andrew Rorer, published in *Melopeia Sacra or A Collection of Psalms and Hymns* (1721). (HTI Tunes 1655a (ISLINGTON), 954a (PS. 145, RORER), Wesley and Spinney, *A Collection of Tunes, Set to Music. As They Are Commonly Sung at the Foundery [Facsimile Reprint of 1742 Edition]* 39.)

Bro - ther\_ in Christ, and well - be - lov'd, to Je - sus, and his Ser - vants dear,

9  
En - ter, and shew thy - self ap - prov'd,

14  
en - ter, and find, en - ter and find that God is here!

Figure VI-20: ISLINGTON TUNE



The fourth ‘Welsh’ tune with no known source, WENWO TUNE, differs somewhat in style from those discussed above.<sup>61</sup> It has a simpler melody and employs largely syllabic text setting. Also in the tenor clef, it spans the range of a tenth between e and g’. The melody implies a simple harmonic structure, remaining in the tonic key of A minor throughout. It extends the basic metrical structure by repeating the final phrase, at first only the words ‘And seize me for’ followed by the complete line of text.

Some rhythmic errors occur in the third phrase and the bar-lines are incorrectly placed throughout, causing false accents. It is similar in style to some of the simpler tunes from English sources, such as BROMSGROVE TUNE, discussed above.

O that thou would'st the Hea - vens rent,  
in Ma - je - sty come down!  
Stretch out thine Arm Om - ni - po - tent,  
And seize me for thine own.  
And seize me for, and seize me for thine own.

Figure VI-21: WENWO TUNE

The remaining tune of unknown origin, ST ATHOL, bears some similarities to the tunes discussed above, but is somewhat simpler in style and more uniformly syllabic in its text setting, sharing more in common with the tunes from earlier English and German sources. The rhythm of the first four phrases is entirely based on a minim-crotchet

<sup>61</sup> Its title is seemingly a corruption of ‘Wenvo(e)’, which is used in many later sources, and is the name of a village in the Vale of Glamorgan.

pattern, while the final third becomes more confused following the introduction of quavers, resulting in an extra beat before the final phrase. As printed, the implied harmonic relationships are ambiguous throughout; the tune concludes in D minor, though this only becomes the tonal centre during the last two phrases, due both to the lack of any B flats and the implied harmony of the earlier phrases, which oscillate between the related tonal areas of C major and A minor:

Phrase	Cadence Type	Key
1	Ambiguous	Ambiguous
2	Perfect	A minor
3	Imperfect	C major
4	Imperfect	C major
5	Imperfect	D minor
6	Perfect	D minor

Table VI-7: Tonal structure of ST ATHOL TUNE (as printed)

Thus, there are two competing tonal relationships within the tune, the major-minor relationship between C major and A minor, and the (harmonic) dominant-tonic relationship of A minor and D minor. Although the latter is evident at the conclusion of the tune, neither succeeds in asserting itself as the harmonic foundation of the melody. The *segno* mark at the end of the tune implies a repetition of the last two phrases, which appear as a textual refrain, with slight alterations, at the end of each stanza in *Hymns and Sacred Poems*.<sup>62</sup>

Adams describes this as a ‘regrettable’ tune and sums up its inherent musical failings: ‘It is a poor melody, with a confused rhythm, includes incorrect word accents, an awkward range and may even modulate.’<sup>63</sup> However, a simple editorial error may account for these ambiguities, which, despite the poor overall editorial quality of the

<sup>62</sup> Vol 3, page 183

<sup>63</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 79.



collection, are unique to this tune. Replacing the treble clef with a tenor clef, without shifting the printed position of any notes, resolves these tonal ambiguities by placing the tune firmly in C major.<sup>64</sup> This creates the new problem, albeit minor in comparison, of extending the vocal range down to c, but creates a much firmer tonal foundation; successively, the implied harmony becomes:

Phrase	Cadence Type	Key
1	Perfect	C major
2	Perfect	G major
3-4	Perfect	A minor
5	Perfect	C major
6	Perfect	C major

Table VI-8: Tonal structure of ST ATHOL TUNE (tenor clef)

This alteration also explains the puzzling lack of a key signature, and the major mode seems to reflect the joyful nature of the text more accurately, in particular the refrain,

Rejoyce in Hope, rejoyce with me,  
We shall from all our Sins be free.

Comparison of the two versions below will illustrate that use of the tenor clef makes the tune musically comprehensible.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Use of the tenor clef has a precedent in the *Foundery Collection*, six other tunes make use of it, which creates some problems concerning vocal range, as illustrated in PENMARK TUNE.  
<sup>65</sup> This does not provide any new evidence as to the source of the tune, as the melodic incipit, one of the indexing methods used by the *Hymn Tune Index*, remains the same, and lists the *Foundery Collection* as the only published record of such a tune.

Ye hap - py Sin - ners, hear, the Pris - oner of the Lord,

And wait 'till Christ ap - pear, ac - cord - ing to his Word.

Re - joyce in Hope, re - joyce with me, We shall from all\_ our\_ Sins\_ be\_ free.

Figure VI-22: STATHOL TUNE (treble clef)

Ye hap - py Sin - ners, hear, the Pris - oner of the Lord,

And wait 'till Christ ap - pear, ac - cord - ing to his Word.

Re - joyce in Hope, re - joyce with me, We shall from all\_ our\_ Sins\_ be\_ free.

Figure VI-23: STATHOL TUNE (tenor clef)

This discussion suggests that to describe these tunes as original compositions for the *Foundery Collection* is misleading. Although precise sources have not been identified, secondary evidence concerning Wesley’s travels, the practice of naming tunes after locations significant either to Methodism or the origin of the tune, and the performance practice of Welsh psalmody and hymnody suggests that some of these tunes were transcribed, possibly by purely mental recollection, from tunes in common use among Welsh congregations. The stylistic variance of the five tunes makes it unlikely that they are all the work of a single composer; three of the tunes reflect the more elaborate style of psalm tune prevalent in the first part of the eighteenth century, while the other two tunes reflect a slightly earlier, simpler style. Furthermore, there is no evidence to suggest that any material in the *Foundery Collection* was composed by



the compiler, as all other tunes are traceable to either a particular composer or prior publication. The seemingly incoherent setting of ST ATHOL TUNE is explained by the theory posited above; this solution succeeds in making the tune conform more closely to the stylistic and harmonic aspects evident in other tunes, and highlights the editorial and printing problems that plague the volume.

### ***‘A wretched little book’<sup>66</sup>: Editorial Practice and Problems in the Foundry Collection***

As indicated throughout this discussion, editorial problems plague the collection, rendering much of its content impractical for congregational use. However, it would be more accurate to describe the editing of the volume as inconsistent rather than entirely without merit. This consideration of the editorial practice will highlight both the problems evident in many tunes but also the examples of accurately transcribed tunes, which suggest that the quality of the source material for the collection varied considerably.

### **Editorial Problems**

Incorrect barring and word accents occur in many tunes and are closely related. This problem is frequently found in tunes that make or imply use of anacrusis. In some instances, tunes begin on the first beat of the bar while the rhythmic formulation of the melody suggests that they should begin with an anacrusis, particularly in tunes in triple metre, which begin with a crotchet-minim or minim-semibreve figuration; ST JOHN’S TUNE illustrates this problem and also the resultant problems in word accents, placing less important words and syllables on the first beat of the bar throughout. This

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<sup>66</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 72.

problem is overcome if a barline is inserted after the first note, and all subsequent barlines shifted one beat to the right:

Figure VI-24 shows the musical score for St John's Tune as printed. It consists of two staves of music in 3/2 time. The lyrics are: "My Stock lies dead, and no\_\_\_ In - crease Does thy past Gifts im - prove; O let\_\_\_ thy Gra - ces with - out cease Drop gent - ly from\_\_\_ a - bove." The score shows a barline after the first note of the first staff, and subsequent barlines are shifted one beat to the right.

Figure VI-24: ST JOHN'S TUNE (as printed)

Figure VI-25 shows the musical score for St John's Tune corrected. It consists of two staves of music in 3/2 time. The lyrics are: "My Stock lies dead, and no\_\_\_ In - crease Does thy past Gifts im - prove; O let\_\_\_ thy Gra - ces with - out cease Drop gent - ly from\_\_\_ a - bove." The score shows a barline after the first note of the first staff, and subsequent barlines are shifted one beat to the right.

Figure VI-25 ST JOHN'S TUNE (corrected)

This problem is also evident mid-way through some tunes, where the anacrusis has been correctly printed at the beginning. BEDFORD TUNE provides an example of this problem; the first two phrases are correctly barred, with correct word accents as a result, but the third phrase, which begins on a new system, starts with a full bar in 3/2 time, where a completion of the bar begun at the end of the second phrase would have been correct; thereafter, all barlines and word accents are incorrect.

Figure VI-26 shows the musical score for Bedford Tune. It consists of two staves of music in 3/2 time. The lyrics are: "The Lord un - to my lord hath said, Sit thou in Glo - ry, sit, Till I thine E - ne - mies have made To bow be - neath thy Feet." The score shows a barline after the first note of the first staff, and subsequent barlines are shifted one beat to the right.

Figure VI-26: BEDFORD TUNE



In other instances, such as HEMDYKE TUNE, more complex problems of the same nature arise. Here, a seemingly unnecessary anacrusis is found at the beginning of the tune, resulting in the bar lines being misplaced throughout, creating incorrect word accents. However, the problem is seemingly corrected in the last line of text, though only through the apparently incorrect copying of a rhythmic sequence over the two three-syllable lines, ‘Christ he gave/Us to save’, which although mathematically correct uses neither the same syllabic setting nor the melodic phrase.

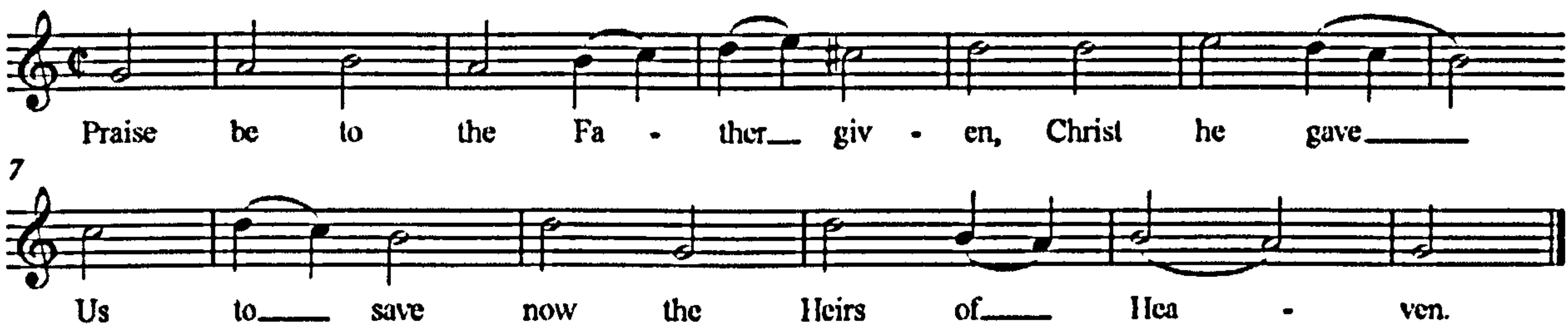


Figure VI-27: HEMDYKE TUNE

Errors such as these limit the effectiveness of the tunes as printed, particularly through the incorrect word accents. These place the stresses on unimportant syllables and words, with important textual points being aligned with weak beats instead of strong beats, which would have afforded them greater significance. The text of the first three phrases of HEMDYKE TUNE illustrates this problem, though, as discussed above, the accents of the last line are fortuitously correct:

Praise| be to| the Fa-|ther gi-|ven,  
Christ| he ga-|ve  
Us| to save|  
now the| heirs of| Hea-|ven.||  
  
Praise be| to the| Father| given,|

Christ he| ga-ve|

Us to| sa-ve|

now the| heirs of| Hea|ven.||

A similar fault occurs in THE RESIGNATION TUNE, the beginning of which requires an anacrusis, but presumed transcription errors later in the piece create more problems if this alteration is made. These examples suggest that as well as basic editorial errors primarily concerning the printing of the music, there are more serious editorial flaws in the actual notation of tunes.

As well as the rhythmic errors described above, several tunes have severe problems concerning their pitch. As discussed, several tunes are set in the tenor clef, resulting in very low notes, while others set in the treble clef extend far above the typical range of an untrained musical voice; for example, PENMARK TUNE in the tenor clef descends to d, while FETTER LANE TUNE in the treble clef ascends to a''. The practice of using different clefs reflects the earlier trend of male-dominated psalm settings, where the melody was written in the tenor part.<sup>67</sup> This suggests that some melodies in the *Foundery Collection* were transcribed from volumes employing this type of layout, presumably in more than one part.

The vocal range within many of the tunes is considerable; for example, ST ATHOL'S TUNE spans a twelfth, d' to a'' as printed, or c to g' in the revised version, above, while other tunes such as BEXLEY, FIRST GERMAN and SWIFT GERMAN have a range of a tenth or eleventh, all of which place considerable demands on the singer, particularly as this results in the melody extending beyond a typical vocal range,

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<sup>67</sup> See the section on country psalmody, above.



almost by default. The most significant example of this problem is in LEIPSICK TUNE, which is the only melody to appear twice in the collection. The first occurrence pitches the tune in G major, set to the text ‘Jesu! my Life, thyself apply’, with an absurd vocal range extending from g’ to c’’’. Here, the metre is 8.6.8.6.8.6., but no text is provided for the final two musical phrases. The second version, which is printed without a title on page 31, sets ‘Jesus, the all-atoning Lamb’, a tune in Double Common Metre, and indicates that the first two phrases of music are to be repeated; the textual setting here is complete. This version of the tune, identical in melodic construction, is set a fourth lower, with a range from d’ to g’’, which is far more in keeping with that found in other tunes.

Je - su! my Life, thy-self ap- ply, Thy ho- ly Spi- rit breathe, My\_ vile Af- fecti- ons cru- ci- fy,

7

Con- form me\_ to thy Death.

Detailed description: This figure shows the first version of the LEIPSICK TUNE. It consists of two staves of music in G major (one sharp). The first staff contains the first line of the melody, which is 8 measures long. The second staff contains the second line, which is 6 measures long and ends with a double bar line. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across measures. A small '7' is written below the first measure of the second staff.

Figure VI-28: LEIPSICK TUNE (1st version)

Je - sus, the all - a - ton- ing Lamb, Lo- ver of lost\_ Man- kind, I\_ ask thy Grace to make me\_ clean,

7

Sal- va- tion in whose on- ly Name A sin- ful World can find:

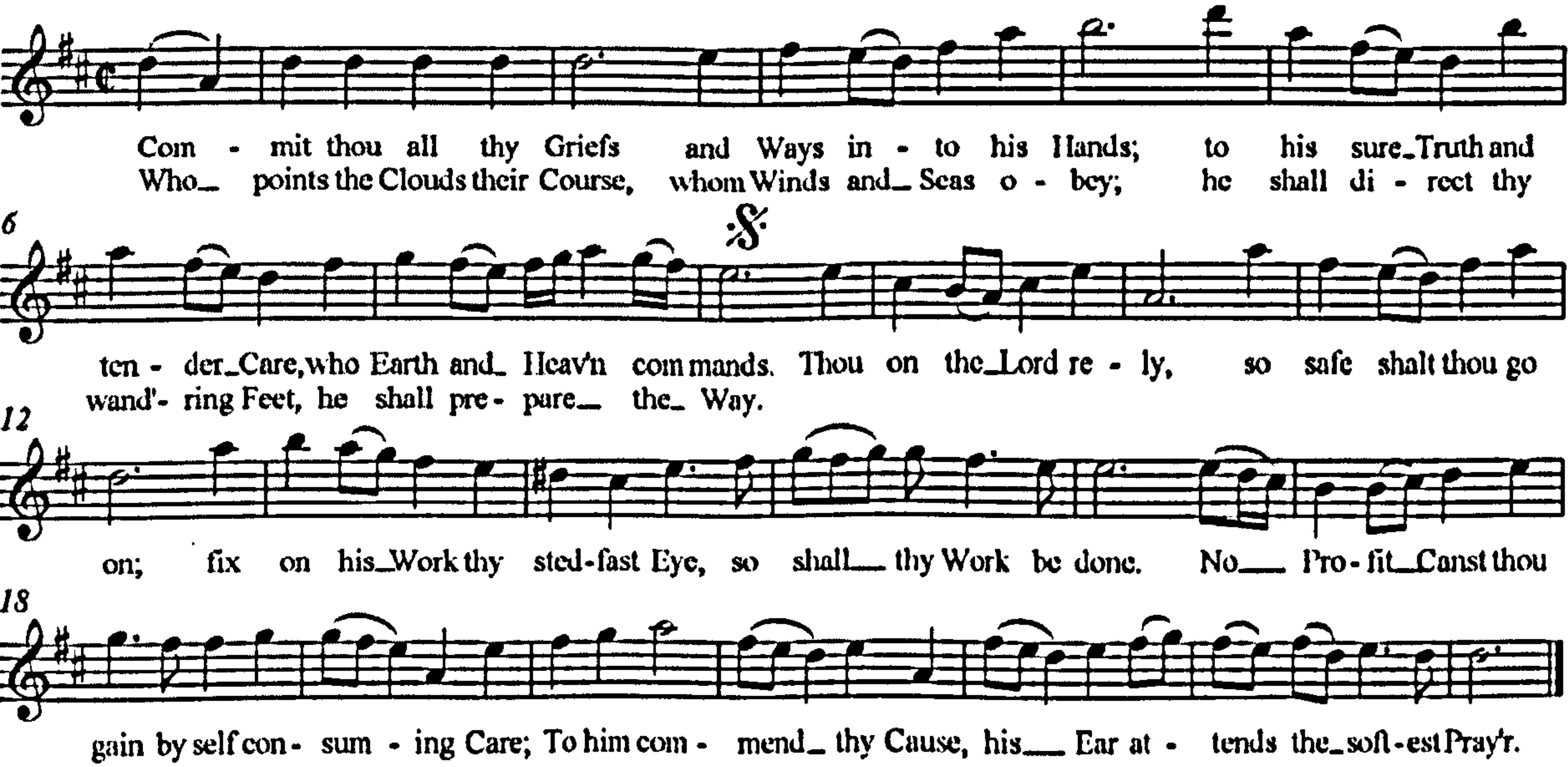
I come to\_ thee, my God: O - pen, O Lord, for this Day's Sin The Foun - tain of thy Blood.

Detailed description: This figure shows the second version of the LEIPSICK TUNE. It also consists of two staves of music in G major. The first staff contains the first line of the melody, which is 8 measures long. The second staff contains the second line, which is 6 measures long and ends with a double bar line. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across measures. A small '7' is written below the first measure of the second staff.

Figure VI-29: [LEIPSICK TUNE] (2nd version)

The most significant editorial problems are evident in the one tune borrowed from a secular source, JERICHO, as discussed above. The primary problem here concerns pitch; the tune has been copied from the Violin I part of Handel’s score, without any

concession to the range of the human voice, let abne in an untrained state; thus it ranges from a' to d'''', but is mostly in the small but high range between d'' and a''. No attempt has been made to alter any aspect of the original music; the complex rhythmic patters of the fourth and eighth phrases remain, while the time signature indicates a minim pulse, which together with the tune's origin as a march suggests a lively tempo, rendering the rendition of the semiquavers in this phrase extremely challenging for a singer, irrespective of the absurdly high pitch. Furthermore, including a tune of this length and harmonic complexity shows a lack of editorial judgement; the complete tune sets double verses of Double Short Metre, making a total of sixteen musical phrases, although the fifth to eighth phrases are a repeat of the first to fourth.<sup>68</sup> The combination of these examples of editorial incompetence render the tune utterly impossible for congregational use in the form printed here, despite the reasons that seem to lie behind its inclusion, as discussed above.



Com - mit thou all thy Griefs and Ways in - to his Hands; to his sure Truth and  
Who\_ points the Clouds their Course, whom Winds and\_ Seas o - bey; he shall di - rect thy

6  
ten - der Care, who Earth and\_ Heav'n commands. Thou on the Lord re - ly, so safe shalt thou go  
wand'- ring Feet, he shall pre - pure\_ the\_ Way.

12  
on; fix on his Work thy sted-fast Eye, so shall\_ thy Work be done. No\_ Pro - fit Canst thou

18  
gain by self con - sum - ing Care; To him com - mend\_ thy Cause, his\_ Ear at - tends the soft - est Pray'r.

Figure VI-30: JERICHO TUNE

<sup>68</sup> The full metrical structure is thus 6.6.8.6.6.8.6.6.6.8.6.6.6.8.6.



## Accurate Transcriptions

In addition to these error-ridden tunes, several accurately transcribed and well-edited tunes appear in the *Foundery Collection*. The music of BROMSWICK TUNE, discussed above, is entirely accurately transcribed, including its anacrustic phrases, and the application of a new text to this tune is successful, with no misplaced accents. ST MATTHEW'S TUNE, discussed above, also avoids all of these pitfalls, and despite some rhythmic simplification noted by Adams, all changes have been successfully made.<sup>69</sup> Despite these tunes, along with others such as CLARK'S TUNE and THE 113<sup>TH</sup> PSALM TUNE, originating in commonly used English psalters, others taken from these sources, such as CRUCIFIXION TUNE, contain the errors in rhythm, barring and word accents noted above. The music of several of the German tunes, including SAVANNAH and AMSTERDAM are largely accurate transcriptions, the occasional awkward word accents perhaps due to the different stresses of the German texts for which the tunes were originally written rather than editorial errors.

Overall, these observations suggest that the compiler of the *Foundery Collection*, while possessing a sufficient degree of musical literacy to accurately transcribe tunes from extant sources, neither possessed the necessary skills to accurately transcribe melodies he had either learned aurally himself or that were dictated from memory by another person, nor had the ability or discrimination to perform the critical editorial tasks so obviously needed. Therefore, this resulted in a volume of severely limited value for congregations and those leading singing in worship, despite its laudable intentions of presenting a wide range of musical styles set to texts from a common

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<sup>69</sup> 'The editor of F[oundery] "improves" the tune by removing the rhythmic interest observed in the original.' Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 98.

source. While problems such as pitch could easily be overcome by a skilled practitioner leading unaccompanied performance, this would nonetheless prove awkward for musicians of lesser ability. Furthermore, errors such as incorrect barring and textual accents would impede confident use of the tunes.

Adams sums up this discrepancy between intention and result in his concluding remarks on the volume: 'Since Wesley apparently never did anything without first methodically considering every detail, it is strange that he allowed such a wretched little book to appear under his direction.'<sup>70</sup>

## ***Summary***

Despite its practical problems, the *Foundery Collection* represents Wesley's first concerted effort to establish a musical precedent for Methodist worship and evangelism. While the failings of the volume did not allow this particular venture to come to fruition, the underlying musical and textual principles were to have a long-lasting impact on Methodism. Crucially, the collection attempts to fulfil a dual purpose in ensuring that those within Methodism sang authentic Methodist theology to tunes 'in common use' while attempting to appeal more widely through culturally familiar musical styles.

The use of many Germanic tunes illustrates the debt Wesley owed to the Moravians; tunes such as SWIFT GERMAN TUNE and SAVANNAH are amongst the most clearly structured in the collection, allowing the text to be clearly heard while retaining melodic interest. The strong repetitive elements of tunes from this tradition such as THE 113<sup>TH</sup> PSALM TUNE and AMSTERDAM TUNE would have made them easily

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid. 72.



memorable and therefore highly suitable for congregational use. These tunes set an important precedent for Wesley's later collections of tunes in achieving a balance between predictability and originality. The prevalence of English psalm-tunes reflects Methodism's origins as a revival movement within the Church of England and the Wesleys attempts to reinvigorate the worship of the Established Church. These tunes are in the typical church metres, and would have been familiar to those from Anglican backgrounds who were among the early followers of Methodism. The inclusion of melodies seemingly transcribed from memory indicates Wesley's desire to include tunes that were well-known among the people to whom he ministered. Likewise, the inclusion of an adapted secular melody and the appending of a 'Hallelujah' refrain to BRISTOL TUNE reflect popular practices and preferences, albeit with very limited musical success. These influences combine to make this volume a clear attempt at producing a collection of tunes that would appeal to and reflect the current practices of Methodist Societies. However, its serious flaws mean that it is most important in terms of the principles that underlie its contents rather than the practices it sought to establish within Methodism.

## **VII. John Frederick Lampe, *Hymns on the Great Festivals, and Other Occasions* (1746)<sup>1</sup>**

John Frederick Lampe's *Hymns on the Great Festivals and Other Occasions* (1746) is the first collection of hymn tunes by a single composer associated with the Methodist movement. In it, Lampe sets twenty-four texts, twenty-three of which are by Charles Wesley, while the other hymn is by Charles's elder brother Samuel Jnr. Apart from John Wesley's ill-fated inclusion of the melody from Handel's *Riccardo Primo* in the *Foundery Collection*, Lampe's collection of tunes represents the first interaction between Methodism and contemporary trends in art music.

Lampe's tunes gained considerable popularity within Methodism during the eighteenth century and many were included in various hymnals associated with the movement. His relationship with the Wesleys offers valuable insights into the range of Methodism's social and cultural engagement, which helps to explain the enduring popularity of his music. The textual and musical content of *Hymns on the Great Festivals* reflect important aspects of Methodism's ecclesiology, evangelical emphasis, attitude towards worship and the theological rationale underpinning all three.

### ***Lampe's Tunes within the Context of Methodist Music and Theology***

Lampe's hymn tunes are not immediately easily reconcilable with Wesley's attitude towards congregational singing, principally due to their melodic complexities.

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix B for full bibliographic details of all tunes.



Moreover, they do not entirely avoid the characteristics of modern music criticised by Wesley; even though they are neither contrapuntal nor instrumental, the heavily ornamented melody lines and figured accompaniment are redolent of Wesley's reference to the lack of judgement in modern music due to the 'delicate, unmeaning sound!'<sup>2</sup> Paradoxically, the soloistic nature of Lampe's tunes can be seen as according with Wesley's limited praise for modern music in 'Thoughts on the Power of Music':

It is true that modern music has been sometimes observed to have as powerful an effect as the ancient.... But when was this? Generally, if not always, when a fine solo was sung; ... when the music has been extremely simple and inartificial, the composer having attended to melody, not harmony.<sup>3</sup>

However, this immediately presents another problem, as Lampe sets texts designed for corporate singing. While Wesley acknowledges that modern music can be successful in affecting the listener, the heavy ornamentation of Lampe's tunes do not allow them to be fully aligned with his viewpoint, even though they are melody-orientated.

Although these tunes obviously fall into the category of modern music, largely vilified by Wesley, rather than the celebrated ancient style, his general views concerning the value of historical precedents offer some means of interpreting his approval of these hymn settings. For instance, his attitude towards the Early Church is best understood as a desire to embody its principles rather than specifically imitate its practice. David Carter, writing on Methodist ecclesiology comments that 'They [the Wesleys] combined a regard for scriptural principle, as they understood it, with a careful

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<sup>2</sup> Cited in Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 87.

<sup>3</sup> Cited in Ibid. 88.

avoidance of any 'restorationism', that is to say any concept that the exact pattern of the Primitive Church either could or should be exactly reproduced.'<sup>4</sup> Applied to Wesley's musical practice, this allows for a broader stylistic range of melody-orientated compositions to be understood as authentically Methodist, reflecting the diversity of the movement's membership and cultural context.

The primary importance of Lampe's tunes, particularly those collected together in *Hymns on the Great Festivals*, lies in their contribution to Methodism's diverse cultural engagement, reflecting the movement's emergence in the West End of London. For Wesley, the applicability of the Gospel message was as relevant for London's theatrical community as the industrial workers in the new towns of the north and west. The centrality of hymnody to this work found a tailor-made outlet in Lampe's compositions; music that set Wesleyan texts in a style familiar to a particular group within Methodism.

The subsequent use of simplified versions of several of Lampe's tunes by Butts and Wesley in general collections for use within Methodism indicates that *Hymns on the Great Festivals* was not regarded as a suitable volume for widespread congregational use, but that its stylistic qualities were of use to Methodism and some of the tunes were sufficiently adaptable to gain more extensive use.

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<sup>4</sup> Carter, *Love Bade Me Welcome: A British Methodist Perspective on the Church* 32.



## ***Lampe and the Wesleys: Methodism and London's Theatrical Community***

Lampe arrived in London in 1725/6 but did not establish his reputation as a composer until the early 1730s. Peter Holman suggests that during his first years in England

He probably started to play the bassoon for Handel soon after he arrived in London, for Charles Burney wrote that Thomas Stanesby made a double bassoon for the coronation of 1727, and that Lampe 'was the person intended to perform on it; but, for want of a proper reed, or for some other cause, at present unknown, no use was made of it at that time'.<sup>5</sup>

His reputation as a composer was established with the completion of several successful ballad operas, satires and musical pantomimes in the early 1730s, similar in style to John Gay's *Beggar's Opera* (1728).<sup>6</sup> Carlton Young describes such works as 'set-pieces of solos, duets, choruses linked together with dialogue sometimes filled with raw humor and satire of Italian opera.'<sup>7</sup> Such works often quoted from popular tunes, including operatic melodies; Peter Holman cites Lampe's overture to the pantomime *Cupid and Psyche* as an example:

The overture to *Cupid and Psyche* is an example of the 'medley overture', a popular genre in the early 1730s in which fragments of popular tunes were introduced, often in counterpoint or hidden in the lower parts; Lampe managed to work in tunes from Handel's *Rodelinda*, *Giulio Cesare*, *Admeto*, *Ottone* and *Siroe*.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Peter Holman, 'Lampe, John Frederick', in L. Macy (ed.), *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com/>>, accessed 05/09/2007.

<sup>6</sup> Lampe often worked with the librettist Henry Carey on these projects.

<sup>7</sup> Carlton R. Young, 'John F. Lampe and *Hymns on the Great Festivals*, 1746', in S.T. Kimbrough (ed.), *Hymns on the Great Festivals, and Other Occasions, a Facsimile of the First Edition* London: M. Cooper, 1746 (Madison, NJ: Charles Wesley Society, 1996), 7-20, 8.

<sup>8</sup> Holman, 'Lampe, John Frederick'.

His greatest compositional success came in 1738 with the comic opera *The Dragon of Wantley*, with libretto by Carey, based on a Sheffield legend. Commenting on this work, Dennis Martin writes,

Especially impressive is Lampe's ability to combine the varied elements of Italian opera seria, English burlesque, and German counterpoint into a distinctive and individual style... probably the best musical craftsman writing English comic works at this time.<sup>9</sup>

The early 1740s were a difficult period for Lampe, following the decline in popularity of the Italianate style of opera, the suicide of his librettist Carey, and the emergence of the Handelian oratorio. During this period, Lampe conducted at Covent Garden and turned his compositional attentions to writing solo songs. As well as being a composer, Lampe authored two musical treatises, *A Plain and Compendious Method of Teaching Thorough Bass* (1737) and *The Art of Musick* (1740), the former of which shows familiarity with Rameau's work in the same field.<sup>10</sup>

In 1745, he was introduced to the Wesley brothers, through Priscilla Rich, who was a convert to Methodism and a Covent Garden player and wife of the proprietor. Despite John Wesley's negative attitude towards the theatre, which he described as 'a sink of all profaneness and debauchery',<sup>11</sup> Methodism established a following among its patrons in the West End of London. The Wesleys leased a chapel on West Street in order to pursue their ministry to these new converts; Frederick Gill notes that 'among

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<sup>9</sup> Dennis Martin, *The Operas and Operatic Style of John Frederick Lampe* (Detroit Monographs in Musicology, Detroit, MI: Information Coordinators, 1985) 53-54.

<sup>10</sup> Holman, 'Lampe, John Frederick'.

<sup>11</sup> Charles Wesley and Thomas Jackson, *The Journal of Charles Wesley* (Kansas City: Beacon Hill Press, 1980).



its first worshippers, and a notable convert, was Mrs. Rich...'<sup>12</sup> Carlton Young points out that the Wesleys managed to maintain a distinction between the theatre itself and those who supported its work,<sup>13</sup> while Nicholas Temperley relates this aspect of Methodism with the movement's charitable work in supporting the Lock Hospital.<sup>14</sup>

John Wesley's Journal for 1745 notes that he 'spent an hour with Mr Lampe, who had been a Deist for many years, till it pleased God, by *An Earnest Appeal* to bring him to a better mind.'<sup>15</sup> Lampe seemed to establish a particularly warm friendship with Charles Wesley, reflected in a journal entry of Charles Wesley, 'I passed the afternoon at Mrs Rich's, where we caught a Physician by the ear, through the help of Mr Lampe and some of our sisters. This is the true use of music.'<sup>16</sup> Charles in particular remained in contact with Lampe over the following months and years, and wrote a hymn to celebrate the latter's conversion.<sup>17</sup> Correspondence between Mrs Rich and Charles indicates that Lampe had developed a warm regard for Charles and his poetry: 'I gave a copy of the hymn to Mr. Lampe, who at the reading, shed some tears, and said he would write to you for he loved you as well as if you were his own brother.'<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Frederick C. Gill, *Charles Wesley, the First Methodist* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1964) 120.

<sup>13</sup> Young, 'John F. Lampe and *Hymns on the Great Festivals*, 1746', 9.

<sup>14</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* 46.

<sup>15</sup> John Wesley et al., *The Works. Vol. 18-24, Journal and Diaries* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1986) 29 November 1745. This refers to John Wesley's pamphlet of 1743.

<sup>16</sup> Wesley and Jackson, *The Journal of Charles Wesley* 411.

<sup>17</sup> Titled 'The Musician's Hymn', this appeared in *Hymns for those that seek and those that have Redemption in the Blood of Jesus Christ* (1747).

<sup>18</sup> Cited in Gill, *Charles Wesley, the First Methodist* 120-21. It is also likely that John and Priscilla Rich provided the connection between Charles Wesley's hymns and Handel, who wrote settings for three of Charles's texts. Young, 'John F. Lampe and *Hymns on the Great Festivals*, 1746', 10.

Peter Holman describes Lampe's *Hymns on the Great Festivals* as 'An immediate fruit of his conversion' noting that it was a 'handsomely produced volume'.<sup>19</sup> Following its production, Charles Wesley defended Lampe's tunes against criticism and advocated their use in conjunction with hymns in *Graces Before Meat* (c.1746) and *Redemption Hymns* (1747). Lampe moved to Dublin in 1748 and was reacquainted with Charles there in October of the same year. He died in Edinburgh in 1751, where the inscription on his tombstone bears testimony to his religious conviction as well as his musical background: 'His taste for moral harmony appeared through all his conduct.'<sup>20</sup>

### ***Text and Music in Lampe's Collection***

#### **'The Great Festivals': Methodism and the Liturgical Year**

The majority of Charles Wesley's texts set by Lampe focus on specific liturgical feasts, and had been published previously in a variety of collections; Frank Baker notes that 'From December 1745 to October 1746 Charles had published no fewer than five distinct pamphlets offering hymns dedicated to worship at different seasons of the church year.'<sup>21</sup> Charles Wesley's loyalty to the Church of England is well documented, and coupled with Methodism's origin as an Anglican revival movement, it is unsurprising that he should address the liturgical seasons in his poetical writings; as a key feature of Anglican spirituality they presented an obvious opportunity to express characteristically Wesleyan theological interpretations of events that were steeped in both Scripture and the traditions of the Church. The only hymn not by

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<sup>19</sup> Holman, 'Lampe, John Frederick'.

<sup>20</sup> Cited in Young, 'John F. Lampe and *Hymns on the Great Festivals*, 1746', 13. Following Lampe's death, Charles Wesley composed a memorial hymn titled 'On the death of Mr. Lampe', which was later published in *Funeral Hymns* (1759).

<sup>21</sup> Frank Baker, 'The Texts of *Hymns on the Great Festivals*', *Ibid.*, 21-30, 21.



Charles Wesley also fits into this framework; Baker describes the ‘anonymous and posthumous salute to Charles’s oldest brother’,<sup>22</sup> through the inclusion of ‘A Hymn to the Trinity’ from Samuel’s 1736 collection *Poems on Several Occasions*. The five hymns not associated with the liturgical calendar are nonetheless designed for liturgical use; two are on the subject of the Church Triumphant while the remaining three are funeral hymns.

In the context of Methodism’s development as a religious movement, the selection of texts set by Lampe is an important representation of Methodism’s early history and the desire of its leaders to remain firmly within the Church of England and to adhere to the format of its liturgical life. These hymns, written with specific liturgical settings in mind, embody a strongly Methodist theological interpretation of the significance of the religious events and doctrines that inspired them. For example, the Passiontide hymn ‘Lamb of God, whose bleeding love we now recall to mind’ is a meditation on Christ’s sacrificial death, intended for use on Good Friday and in preparation for receiving the Sacrament of Holy Communion. Nonetheless, it is steeped in the Wesleys’ belief in the universal offer of salvation and the human capacity for growth in holiness towards the attainment of Christian perfection:

Think on us, who think on thee;  
And every struggling soul release;  
O remember Calvary,  
And bid us go in peace!

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

Never will we hence depart,  
Till thou our wants relieve,  
Write forgiveness on our heart,  
And all thine image give!  
Still our souls shall cry to thee,  
Till perfected in holiness;  
O remember Calvary,  
And bid us go in peace!<sup>23</sup>

Likewise, the Ascension Day hymn 'Hail, Jesus, hail, our great High-Priest' emphasises the universal prospect of salvation, together with rich sacramental imagery, culminating in an eschatological vision of all the sanctified believers:

Thou hast the conquest more than gain'd,  
The everlasting bliss obtain'd  
For all who trust Thy dying love.

Shed on the altar of Thy cross,  
Thy blood to God presented was  
Through the Eternal Spirit's power;  
Thou didst a spotless Victim bleed,  
That we from sin and suffering freed  
Might live to God, and sin no more.

That we the promise might receive  
Might soon with Thee in glory live,  
Thou stand'st before Thy Father now!

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<sup>23</sup> John Frederick Lampe, *Hymns on the Great Festivals, and Other Occasions: A Facsimile of the First Edition, London: M. Cooper, 1746* (Madison, NJ: Charles Wesley Society, 1996) Hymn V, stanzas 1, 4.



To us, who long to see Thee here,  
Thou shalt a second time appear,  
And bear us to Thy glorious throne.<sup>24</sup>

Both hymns can be readily understood as belonging to a revival movement within a Church, reflecting the Wesleys' zeal to reinvigorate the Church of England and to communicate their theological beliefs in a concise and memorable fashion. Nicholas Temperley notes that hymns included in common Anglican psalters such as the Old and New Versions were generally associated with specific events in the liturgical calendar or with liturgical acts such as communion. In terms of eighteenth-century practice, he states that 'The tradition of the communion hymn during the people's communion remained alive on 'Sacrament Sundays'...'.<sup>25</sup>

The importance of the selection of texts in *Hymns on the Great Festivals and Other Occasions* lies in their wedding of ecclesiological and theological principles to create a distinctively Methodist response to the liturgical life of the Church. The potential that the Wesleys saw in congregational hymnody and its limited but accepted place in Anglican liturgy explain the selection of texts, which are in keeping with Methodism's original revivalist ethos.

## **Lampe's Musical Settings: the Influence of Fashionable Musical Culture**

In the same way that the selection of texts is indicative of a particular aspect of Methodist religious belief and thought, Lampe's musical settings are likewise

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid. Hymn XII, stanzas 1, 3, 4, 6.

<sup>25</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* 123.

representative of one trait in musical style and practice associated with Methodism. They form part of a broader and more diverse musical repertoire that provided the movement's primary means for the memorable communication of its beliefs and values to those within and beyond its membership and across a wide social, cultural and educational spectrum. Significantly, they are the first published tunes associated with Methodism to embrace aspects of fashionable art music and provided a model for similar future developments.

Lampe's prolific compositional output across several genres such as opera and solo song can be observed in his hymn tunes. Some discussion of his earlier, secular compositions allows the musical context of the hymn tunes to be more fully understood. Although Handel was the dominant composer in England at this time, Lampe's music shares greater commonality with the compositional style and musical language of Thomas Arne, who became his brother-in-law in 1738. Peter Holman notes that 'he tended to follow his brother-in-law in introducing elements of British popular song into his airs, including the Scotch snaps that proliferate in *Pyramus and Thisbe*.'<sup>26</sup>

Carlton Young highlights the cohesion between Lampe's secular compositions and hymn settings, describing the latter as being 'in the prevailing popular strophic song-style form, intended to be performed by female soprano and tenor soloists of demonstrated competence and accompanied by harpsichord or chamber organ and cello.'<sup>27</sup> Despite this, several of the settings were adopted by Butts and Wesley for congregational use. Examination of the musical features of several of Lampe's tunes

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<sup>26</sup> Holman, 'Lampe, John Frederick'.

<sup>27</sup> Young, 'John F. Lampe and *Hymns on the Great Festivals*, 1746', 15.



reveals that some are more suitable for such adaptation than others, which place more severe demands on the singer.

Lampe's melodies are frequently adorned with ornaments, including trills and several types of appoggiatura, while in HYMN V, his assimilation of elements of popular songs can be observed through the frequent use of the 'Lombardic' rhythmic figure (bars 1, 2, 3 etc). This tune is also a good example of his broad and rich harmonic vocabulary. In keeping with many of the other tunes, first inversion chords dominate, creating a smooth, often step-wise bass line, perhaps attributable to Lampe's skill both as a harpsichordist and bassoonist. Chromatic alteration of both the melody and the harmony is particularly evident, resulting in a long series of modulations: beginning in the tonic, Lampe modulates to the dominant (bars 13-14), sub-dominant (bars 17-18), and supertonic minor (bars 21-22), before a somewhat abrupt change of direction back to the tonic at bar 23. Typically, the final line of text is repeated, allowing a weak  $\text{vii}^\circ\text{b-Ib}$  penultimate cadence to be followed by a strong, root-position perfect cadence.

Lamb of God whose blee-ding Love, we now re-call to

Mind, send the Answer from a -- bove, and let us Mercy

find, think on us, who think on Thee, and ev'ry Strugling

Soul re-lease, O re-mem-ber Calva -- ry and bid us

go in Peace, and bid us go in Peace.

**Figure VII-1: HYMN V 'On the Crucifixion'**

HYMN VIII shows the demands Lampe occasionally placed on the singer, by way of large melodic leaps of an octave, either between phrases (bars 2, 12) or within a phrase (bar 11), and even a tenth (bar 14). The high degree of ornamentation, such as the decoration at the end of all but one of the main phrases, is typical of Lampe's style, reflecting the operatic influences on his music.



This tune is a notable example of Lampe's bold melodic style, with much momentum towards the cadence points, a firm harmonic grasp, illustrated by the smooth bass line and detailed figuring, as well as the influence of the theatre and opera, in the dramatic leaps of the melodies and ornamentation.

HYMN.VIII.  
*On the Resurrection.* John F. Lampe



**Figure VII-2: HYMN VIII 'On the Resurrection'**

HYMN X likewise reflects Lampe's challenging vocal writing, and although included in collections by Butts and Wesley, it is in fact one of the least suitable tunes for

congregational singing from *Hymns on the Great Festivals*.<sup>28</sup> It is heavily ornamented and contains several awkward melodic intervals, exacerbated by the chromatic nature of the harmony, notably in the first bar, at the end of the second phrase and in the final phrase. The richness of Lampe’s harmonic writing, including several modulations, realised and implied, together with the decorative cadential figures add to the difficulty of the tune.

HYMN. X.

On the Resurrection.

The musical score is written for a single melodic line on a treble clef staff with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The time signature is common time (C). The melody is highly ornate, featuring many grace notes, trills, and chromatic passages. The lyrics are written below the staff, with some words hyphenated across lines. The score consists of six lines of music, each with a corresponding line of lyrics. The lyrics are: 'Happy Magda--lene to Whom Christ the Lord vouchsaf'd to ap--pear newly risen from the Tomb woud he first be seen by Her! Her, by seven Devils Posses'd till his word the fiends ex--pell'd quench'd the Hell with in her Breast, all her Sins and Sicknefs heal'd all her Sins and Sicknefs heal'd.' The final line of the score ends with a double bar line.

Happy Magda--lene to Whom Christ the Lord vouchsaf'd to ap--  
-pear newly risen from the Tomb woud he first be seen by  
Her! Her, by seven Devils Posses'd till his word the fiends ex--  
pell'd quench'd the Hell with in her Breast, all her Sins and  
Sicknefs heal'd all her Sins and Sicknefs heal'd.

Figure VII-3: Hymn X 'On the Resurrection'

<sup>28</sup> Both label the tune MAGDALENE (Butts omitting the final ‘e’), reflecting the text.



All three tunes highlight the soloistic qualities of Lampe's writing, reflecting the qualities of a proficient and experienced musician in using the voice to create a dramatic, affective quality that would have assisted their widespread appeal thus furthering the reach of the message contained within the texts. However, they also exhibit the inherent difficulty in adapting such tunes for congregational use; all three contain elements uncommon in typical hymn tunes, especially HYMN X, and would have met with varying degrees of success depending on the musical tastes and abilities of the congregation.

In common with the collection at large, they illustrate Lampe's assimilation of the fashionable secular style, transferred to the sacred domain of hymnody. Robin Leaver describes the influence of secular music on the tunes:

these melodies were not simply designed to be fashionable: they were also intended to be popular. In many respects they are a continuation of the English broadside ballad tune tradition, refined and made widely acceptable through the ballad operas including Lampe's own of the immediately preceding decade.<sup>29</sup>

## Other Tunes by Lampe

In addition to *Hymns on the Great Festivals*, Lampe apparently composed at least ten further hymn tunes, four of which were included in Wesley's publications. These were presumably composed between 1747 and 1754, as they include a setting of 'The Musician's Hymn' (1747), apparently written in celebration of Lampe's conversion,<sup>30</sup> and nine of them were included in the first edition of Butts's *Harmonia Sacra* (1754).

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<sup>29</sup> Robin A. Leaver, 'Lampe's Tunes', in S.T. Kimbrough (ed.), *Hymns on the Great Festivals, and Other Occasions, a Facsimile of the First Edition London: M. Cooper, 1746* (Madison, NJ: Charles Wesley Society, 1996), 31-44, 34.

<sup>30</sup> Philip Olleson, 'Review: Hymns on the Great Festivals and Other Occasions', *Music and Letters*, 79/3 (August 1999), 431-32, 431.

F. Ellsworth Peterson describes Lampe's setting of 'The Musician's Hymn', noting that

It exists today, together with melodies and basses (unfigured) for nine additional texts by Charles Wesley, in a manuscript bound at the end of a copy of *Hymns on the Great Festivals* at the Methodist Archives and Research Centre, London. The volume bears the name of Charles Wesley, Jr, inside the front cover, along with the following notation written in his hand:

These Hymns were Composed by The Rev<sup>nd</sup> Charles Wesley and for Him Set to musick by Mr. Lampe, a celebrated German Composer who Publish'd an excellent Treatize on Thorough Base etc. and many other Anthems etc. for the Church.<sup>31</sup>

These tunes do not bear Lampe's autograph, which Peterson acknowledges 'makes impossible the identification of the hand as the composer's own', though he goes on to argue that 'the manuscript settings, when compared with *Hymns on the Great Festivals*, show unmistakeable characteristics of Lampe's style.'<sup>32</sup> This is supported by Peter Holman's claim that 'More of his devotional music probably survives anonymously in other collections produced by members of the Wesley circle, such as Thomas Butts's *Harmonia Sacra*'.<sup>33</sup> One notable difference between these tunes and *Hymns on the Great Festivals* is the functional nature of the bass parts. Unlike the earlier collection, the bass moves almost exclusively in crotchets rather than following the rhythmic patterns of the melody and there are very few passing notes. This may indicate an attempt by Lampe to simplify his compositional style, perhaps in response

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<sup>31</sup> F. Ellsworth Peterson, 'The Methodist Hymn Settings of John Frederick Lampe', *Roger Deschner Archive* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University, n.d.) v. He notes that this volume also contains tunes composed by Handel, Samuel Arnold, T. Kelway and others. The Methodist Archive and Research Centre is now located at the John Rylands University Library, Manchester.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. vi.

<sup>33</sup> Holman, 'Lampe, John Frederick'.



to the popularity of his tunes among congregations as well as soloists. Even so, many of the other complexities noted in his earlier collection remain.

Of the four tunes adopted by Wesley, the setting of 'Ah! Woe is me, constrained to dwell', labelled WEDNESBURY in *Sacred Melody*, was noted as a personal favourite.<sup>34</sup> The melody displays many characteristics in common with tunes from *Hymns on the Great Festivals*. Like many of Lampe's tunes it is in a minor key, utilises many ornamental melodic figures and combines various dotted rhythm patterns, notably the more conventional dotted quaver – semiquaver figuration along with its inversion, the 'Lombardic' rhythm. The elegant melody contains much stepwise movement, interspersed with typically large jumps, including octaves in the penultimate phrase, which would pose some difficulty in a congregational setting. However, the repetition of the first phrase of music together with a clearly defined harmonic outline would assist congregations in becoming familiar with the melody.

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<sup>34</sup> James T. Lightwood cites a contemporary account of Wesley visiting Whitehaven, where upon hearing this tune, he reportedly said "I am glad that you can sing my favourite tune." Lightwood, *Methodist Music in the Eighteenth Century* 23.

Ah! woe is me, con - strained to dwell A - mong the sons of night, Poor sin - ners drop - ping

in to hell Who hate the gos - pel light. Wild as the un - tamed A - rab's race Who

from their Sa - viour fly, And tram - ple on his par - doning grace; And

all his threates de fy, And all his threats de - fy.

The musical score is written for a single melodic line on a treble clef staff in the key of A major (one sharp) and common time. It consists of four systems, each with a vocal line and a corresponding bass line. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The score includes various musical notations such as eighth notes, sixteenth notes, and trills (marked 'tr'). The lyrics are: 'Ah! woe is me, con - strained to dwell A - mong the sons of night, Poor sin - ners drop - ping in to hell Who hate the gos - pel light. Wild as the un - tamed A - rab's race Who from their Sa - viour fly, And tram - ple on his par - doning grace; And all his threates de fy, And all his threats de - fy.'

Figure VII-4: Lampe, manuscript tune VIII

Some of the tunes included by Butts in *Harmonia Sacra* but omitted in Wesley’s collections are among Lampe’s most complex. For example, the setting of ‘Listed into the case of sin’, labelled EPWORTH by Butts, is a long and complex melody. Set in A minor, it includes modulations to C major, F major, in passing, and D minor and encompasses a broad range from c#’ to f’.



The image displays a musical score for a hymn, identified as 'Lampe, manuscript tune V'. It consists of five systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first system (measures 1-8) includes a trill (tr) on the final note. The second system (measures 9-16) also features a trill. The third system (measures 17-24) continues the melody. The fourth system (measures 25-32) includes a trill. The fifth system (measures 33-40) concludes with a trill. The lyrics are: 'Lis - ted in - to the case of sin, Why should a good be e - vil? Mu - sic, a - last! too long has been Pressed to o - bey the de - vil; Drunk - en, or lewd, or light the lay Flowed to the soul's un - do - ing, Wi - dowed and strewed with flowers the way Down to e - ter - nal ru - in, Down to e - ter - nal ru - in.'

Lis - ted in - to the case of sin, Why should a good be e - vil?

Mu - sic, a - last! too long has been Pressed to o - bey the de - vil;

Drunk - en, or lewd, or light the lay Flowed to the soul's un - do - ing,

Wi - dowed and strewed with flowers the way Down to e -

ter - nal ru - in, Down to e - ter - nal ru - in

Figure VII-5: Lampe, manuscript tune V

The harmonic and melodic complexity of this and other tunes used only by Butts highlights a distinction in musical practice between *Harmonia Sacra* and Wesley's own collections. Butts's collection contains all of the tunes from *Hymns on the Great Festivals* and omits only one of these additional tunes, whereas Wesley uses only nineteen tunes by Lampe in total. Coupled with the greater degree of musicality implied by Butts's three-part setting compared to Wesley's melody-only versions, this suggests that *Harmonia Sacra* was aimed at a musically more sophisticated audience, capable of singing in harmony, realising the intricacies of Lampe's tunes more accurately and valuing the close relationship between these and contemporary trends

in secular music. Wesley's collections were intended to represent and appeal to the breadth of Methodist preference and practice, informed by his considerable travels across Britain, whereas Butts's collection was necessarily more closely connected to the Society at the old foundry, where he was employed by Wesley. As such, Butts may have been more immersed in the trends of London's secular musical community and accordingly placed greater emphasis on this compositional style in his collection.

The only tune not included by Butts is less successful than Lampe's other melodies, lacking the melodic elegance and flow that generally characterise his work. The melody contains many leaps, which are less well integrated with stepwise passages. Although given a key signature of C minor, the tune is in fact in F minor and contains some chromatic alteration in the bass. These factors result in a tune that is very clearly intended for solo performance and considerably less adaptable for congregational use. Butts's exclusion of it is a clear indication of its unsuitability for congregational singing, as it apparently exceeds even the musical demands he was prepared to place on singers in such a context.



The image displays a musical score for a hymn, identified as 'Lampe, manuscript tune IX'. It consists of four systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are written below the treble staff. The first system (measures 1-6) includes the lyrics 'Fare - well thou once a sin - ner, My poor af - fli - cted friend! My'. The second system (measures 7-15) includes 'Lord, thy faith's be - gin - ner, Is now its glo - rious end! The au - thor of our be - ing has'. The third system (measures 16-21) includes 'sum - moned thee a - way, And faith is lost in see - ing, And'. The fourth system (measures 22-27) includes 'night in end - less day, And night in end - less day.' The score features various musical notations including eighth notes, quarter notes, half notes, and rests, with trills (tr) marked above certain notes in measures 10, 14, 18, and 26.

Fare - well thou once a sin - ner, My poor af - fli - cted friend! My

7 Lord, thy faith's be - gin - ner, Is now its glo - rious end! The au - thor of our be - ing has

16 sum - moned thee a - way, And faith is lost in see - ing, And

22 night in end - less day, And night in end - less day.

Figure VII-6: Lampe, manuscript tune IX

These additional tunes reflect Lampe’s ongoing engagement with Methodism, principally through Charles Wesley’s hymnody. Correspondence between Lampe, Priscilla Rich and the Wesleys indicate that he remained in contact with the movement and the inclusion of these tunes by Butts and Wesley suggests that many of his compositions were sufficiently appealing to have gained acceptance in Methodist circles within just a few years. The *Hymn Tune Index* lists *Harmonia Sacra* as the earliest source for all these melodies, which suggests that as well as being personally known to the Wesleys, Butts and the Methodist Society more generally were acquainted with Lampe’s tunes.

## Summary

The combination of text and music is the most significant aspect of Lampe's settings, especially *Hymns on the Great Festivals*, in terms of their place within early Methodism's worship and evangelical activity. Words and music together embody Methodism's distinctive theological ethos, emphasising each of the elements of the 'Wesleyan Quadrilateral' of Scripture, Tradition, Reason, and Experience. The liturgical nature of the hymn texts was inspired by Scripture and grounded in the traditions of the Church of England, while the Wesleyan theological interpretation and emphasis on the universal offer of salvation was guided by reason and intellectual reflection. Although somewhat atypical of the musical styles prevalent within Methodism before 1746, the particular form of cultural engagement that Lampe's music allowed was intended to enhance the religious experience of those people it appealed to through relating to their own musical and cultural experiences and preferences. Carlton Young argues persuasively the importance of this collection in the history of Methodist music:

The collection prompts more than musicological or hymnological interest. Lampe's tunes enlarged, enriched, and created a new dimension of "music of the heart" and are an expression of the movement's zeal to preach the good news to all who will listen.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 110.



VIII. ***Select Hymns: with Tunes Annext: Designed  
chiefly for the Use of the People Called  
Methodists (1761)***<sup>1</sup>

Wesley's second collection of hymn tunes, usually referred to as *Sacred Melody*, first appeared without a separate title as an appendage to the above volume. The *Hymn Tune Index* notes that,

The only known copies are bound with [John Wesley,] *Select Hymns: with Tunes Annext* (London, 1761). Wesley's preface to that work discusses the tunes. The tune supplement has no separate title page. It has often been called 'Sacred Melody', but this title appears only on ed. b and subsequent eds.<sup>2</sup>

The first edition contained 102 tunes, while the second edition, c.1765, was titled *Sacred Melody, or A Choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* and contained 112 tunes. The *Hymn Tune Index* notes that the third and fourth editions, published in 1770 and 1773 respectively, by William Pine of Bristol, are identical in content to the second edition.<sup>3</sup> It is a much more substantial body of music than the earlier *Foundery Collection*, and as will be illustrated, is edited and printed to a much higher standard. These factors mean that this collection of tunes must be regarded as seminally important within the history of Methodist music, as the first produced under John Wesley's guidance in a form that would allow widespread use. Adams attributes considerable importance to the volume as a representation of Wesley's practical views on music:

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendices C and D for full bibliographic details of all tunes.

<sup>2</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Source \*TS Wes a.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Source \*TS Wes b.

This book is literally the culmination of all of Wesley's ideals about congregational music. His methodical mind, which did not serve him faultlessly in compiling F[oundery], eventually showed him the way in which he should go. He studied the work of others, discarded what he thought could be improved upon, kept what he thought was worthy, and added new material which he thought was better. He now *knew* he was right and he said so – and he *was* right.<sup>4</sup>

Wesley's famous Preface to the collection sets out his rationale in producing it; he indicates that the work has been carried out by a music editor, under his own direct supervision. It appears that, like the *Foundery Collection*, this volume is representative of existing repertoire and practice, collected for the purpose of making it more widely known and achieving a greater degree of uniformity among Methodist congregations. It also hints at Wesley's dissatisfaction with the *Foundery Collection*, which was printed only 19 years previously.

I have been endeavouring for more than 20 years to produce such a book as this. But in vain: Masters of music were above following any direction but their own. And I was determined, whoever compiled this, should follow *my* direction: Not *mending* our tunes, but setting them down, neither better nor worse than they were. At length I have prevailed. The following collection contains all the tunes which are in *common use* among us. They are pricked *true*, exactly as I desire all our congregations may sing them: And here is prefixt to them a collection of those hymns which are (I think) some of *the best* we have published. The *volume* likewise is *small*, as well as the *price*. This therefore I recommend preferable to all others.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 53.

<sup>5</sup> John Wesley, *Select Hymns with Tunes Annexed: Designed Chiefly for the Use of the People Called Methodists* (1st edn., London: [s.n.], 1761) iv. Successive editions also included prefatory material of a pedagogical nature, devised by Wesley with the intention of promoting a higher level of musical literacy among his followers. See Chapter 5, above.



While the primary theological significance of the *Foundery Collection* lay in the principles that lay behind its contents rather than its function in establishing normative practice for Methodist Societies, the practical value of successive editions of *Sacred Melody* is important in assessing its significance as an embodiment of Methodist theological and doctrinal ideals. The Preface indicates that it can accurately be considered as a definitively Methodist publication, indicated by Wesley's comment that it 'contains all the tunes which are in *common use* among us. They are pricked *true*, exactly as I desire all our congregations may sing them'.<sup>6</sup> His concluding statement, 'This therefore I recommend preferable to all others',<sup>7</sup> affirms the suitability of this volume for Methodism at large. Wesley affirms both the hymn texts and the associated tunes and his preface indicates that it is the precise combination of words and music contained in the volume that is to be regarded as authentically Methodist, rather than simply the texts alone. Thus, an evaluation of the stylistic content, technical features such as text setting and implications for performance practice will enable the full significance of these hymns in expressing Methodist beliefs to be understood.

Many aspects of this collection serve to offer a thorough insight into the role of music in Methodist worship at a time when the movement was expanding, as well as revealing Wesley's attitudes towards suitable styles for use within worship and the tension between reflecting popular practices and establishing a default position for the movement at large, in line with wider doctrinal and theological concerns. Adams notes that 'Wesley in his idealism wanted to publish a book that would give "the people called Methodists" a "fixed tune" rather than a "common tune" for their

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

singing.... He hoped that his encouragement in the use of “his tunes” would create a more uniform practice of hymn singing for his followers.’<sup>8</sup>

Discussion of the origins of the tunes has revealed a broader range of sources than was apparent in the *Foundery Collection*, including a greater number by contemporary composers. While those styles that were noted with regard to the *Foundery Collection* again provide the source material for the majority of the music, they are now drawn from a wider range of publications, while many tunes from the *Foundery Collection* itself are reproduced here, with editorial and printing errors corrected. Many other tunes are drawn from books specifically associated with Methodism, in particular John Frederick Lampe’s *Hymns on the Great Festivals and Other Occasions* (1746), *The Divine Musical Miscellany* (1754), which was heavily influenced by George Whitefield, and Thomas Butts’ *Harmonia-Sacra, or A Choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, 1754, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition c.1759-61). Thus *Sacred Melody* can be seen as a more representative collection of Methodism at large, as the two decades since the publication of the *Foundery Collection* had seen significant developments in Methodist worship, doctrine and theology and the expansion of the movement in key geographic areas across England and Wales. The music is therefore based on a considerably wider range of practices and experiences. Adams argues that this volume is the first that is distinctively Methodist in terms of the musical preferences it exhibits, in particular the inclusion of many florid tunes, which conform to the “Old Methodist” style, describing the collection as ‘the *most* rightful owner of the title.’<sup>9</sup> He outlines their musical characteristics and approach to text setting: ‘These florid tunes, with repeating-texts, and sometimes with “hallelujah

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<sup>8</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 126-27.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 126.



choruses”, and melismas that often stretch into more than one measure – these are genuine “Old Methodist” tunes.’<sup>10</sup> Such tunes give the collection a more distinctive Methodist character than the *Foundery Collection* and the prevalence of recently-composed tunes is important in understanding Methodism’s emphasis on cultural engagement.

Several areas of investigation will highlight the significance of this volume, practically, musically and as an embodiment of Methodist theology and doctrine. The use of music in a contemporary idiom needs to be understood in the same way as Charles Wesley’s frequent use of contemporary images in his hymn texts in order to establish a cultural connection with those singing the hymns, as discussed above. The inclusion of such tunes is more significant than merely indicating that Wesley was responding to popular demand, as shown in the second edition of *Sacred Melody*; their increased use suggests that he sought to capitalise on this trend as a means of ensuring the popularity of Methodist hymnody and therefore an opportunity to further the evangelistic work of the movement. The stylistic appeal of the tunes would help to make them memorable and by linking them with texts emphasising aspects of Methodist doctrine and theology; the singer would be likely to recall the message of the hymn together with the melody. This makes them an effective evangelical tool both within an act of worship, and, most crucially, beyond the formal structures of Methodism as a concise and memorable statement of the message that would have been preached, taught, read and sung. Therefore, the hymns are vehicles of this message in their entirety.

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

This dual purpose of the hymns highlights another facet of their theological significance, in emphasising the relationship between the individual believer and the larger religious community, which can be interpreted in relation to two of Wren's 'Hallmarks' for congregational song. Most obviously, this dual use of hymnody as a part of congregational worship and as a readily remembered form for the individual believer accords with Wren's description of the corporate nature of congregational song, affirming the individual's role as an equal member of a larger community. More importantly, with regard to Methodist theological values, the hymns can be seen to fulfil the ecclesial quality of congregational song, affirming by their very existence and practical value the Wesleys' emphasis on the need of the individual to make a personal commitment of faith and the crucial role of fellowship in classes, bands and societies, in order to encourage, support, challenge and admonish individual members. These two aspects of Methodist belief and practice are exemplified in many of Charles Wesley's hymns, as described above, and the same principle extends to the combination of texts and music. The use of stylistically familiar music in two parody hymns in *Sacred Melody*, 'Love divine, all loves excelling' and 'He comes! he comes! the Judge severe' emphasises the importance of this relationship. These secular tunes are technically suitable for congregational use, but at a deeper level, they can be seen as very precise examples of the broader theological principle outlined above. This approach to the combination of tunes and texts emphasises the ecclesial understanding of Methodism's hymnody; the cultural context of the music is indicative of the movement's insistence on the universal offer of salvation by faith, irrespective of social background. All were to be encouraged to make a commitment of faith and hymnody was used as an exhortation to this end.



Consideration of the revised versions of tunes that appeared in the *Foundery Collection* will present a clearer picture of the musical intentions of the former volume, and the respective inclusion and omission of certain melodies will highlight both the response to the musical styles found in the *Foundery Collection* and the development in musical practice in Methodism after 1742. The role of other publications associated with Methodism in providing tunes not previously used by Wesley will assist the understanding of the distinctively Methodist nature of the collection, while the adaptation of secular material, altogether more successful than the single attempt in the *Foundery Collection*, will give further evidence of the musical breadth of the collection, reflecting Methodism's attempts at cultural engagement, which is also theologically important. While the prevalence of tunes inspired by popular secular songs reflects Methodism's popularity and growth among working families in the newly-emerging industrial towns and regions, other musical styles reflect Wesley's desire to communicate with people from all areas of society. The use of Purcell's melody for 'Love Divine' and the many settings by John Frederick Lampe are indicative of Methodism's work amongst London's theatrical community. The centrality of hymnody in Methodism's attempts to emphasise the relevance of the Gospel message to this social group found a tailor-made outlet in Lampe's compositions; music that set Wesleyan texts in a culturally familiar style. Likewise, the use of tunes from the English metrical psalm tradition reflects Methodism's origin as a revival movement within the Church of England, emphasising that those already within the Church could also respond to their message.

Such variety affirms the inclusive nature of congregational hymnody, as outlined by Brian Wren. He defines this characteristic in terms of the participatory nature of any

particular hymn within an act of worship, but a broader principle can be observed here, reflecting Methodism's theological understanding and pragmatic approach to evangelism, which is congruent with Wren's argument that the most successful types of congregational song should also be evangelical. By including tunes in such varied musical styles within a single collection for the whole Methodist connexion, the clear theological implication is that the message of faith communicated in the hymns is not only applicable to people of all social backgrounds but that despite the diverse social and cultural make-up of the movement, all who participated in the Methodist societies were both catered for according to their own situation but, more significantly, united through a common understanding and outworking of faith.

Providing a range of styles to appeal to the widest possible audience also promoted consistency in the communication of Methodist beliefs and values. Wesley clearly intended that this collection should be used by all Methodist Societies with the result that although different societies could select music appropriate to the preferences and experience of their members, a common set of texts would be maintained. This intention accords with Wesley's attempts to create an organisational structure that allowed members to grow in faith whilst adhering to Methodist doctrines and theology. Henry Rack notes that Wesley saw the primary benefit of Methodism's multi-layered and inter-connected structure as 'the pursuit of inward and outward holiness, in the last analysis the hope of perfection.'<sup>11</sup> As one of Methodism's most powerful methods of communication, it was clearly important to ensure that only sound doctrine and theology found its way into the hymns sung in local meetings. By providing an authorised collection of texts coupled with stylistically varied tunes,

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<sup>11</sup> Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* 249.



Wesley was clearly attempting to minimise the possibility of local societies resorting to hymns from outside the Methodist canon that may have been more musically appealing. This aspect of the collection's variety also serves to underline Wren's advocacy of evangelical congregational song. The ability to select tunes according to stylistic preference but with the assurance that the text had been theologically and doctrinally approved, the hymns could be used to attract new followers, as it would convey the essence of Methodist belief while maintaining an element of musical familiarity. In terms of Wren's 'hallmarks', this aspect of Methodist hymnody also affirms the ecclesial nature of congregational song, uniting the diverse church in a common expression of beliefs and values.

There are various changes between successive editions, in particular the inclusion of a lengthier anthem along with several other tunes that are more closely related to anthems than hymns in the second edition of the collection, which provide an insight into the performance practice of Methodism.

## ***Origins of the Tunes***

Adams categorises the tunes first published by Wesley in this collection into seven areas, based on their origins; this categorisation provides a framework for investigating the varied influences on the collection and the ways in which it developed the model observed in the *Foundery Collection*.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 127-29. Adams categorises only those tunes that appeared neither in the *Foundery Collection* nor Lampe's *Hymns on the Great Festivals and Other Occasions*. Adams bases his work on the third edition (1770).

Type of Tune/Origin	Tune Numbers <sup>13</sup>
German	67, 68, 94, 112
Anglican	76, 80, 84, 99, 108, 109, 115
Adaptations	74, 81, 83, 93, 95, 97, 116, 125, 128
Anthems	75, 126, 130
English Sources (DM)	70, 71, 73, 85, 90, 91, 92, 101, 102, 104, 110, 111
English Sources (HS)	77, 78, 79, 87, 88, 89, 100, 103, 106, 113, 117, 118, 121, 122, 123, 127, 129
English? (first publication)	69, 72, 82, 86, 98, 114, 119, 120, 124

Table VIII-1: Sources of ‘new’ tunes in *Sacred Melody*

Other Methodist Influences: the Tune Books of Whitefield and Butts

The above table indicates that many of the tunes contained in *Sacred Melody* that had not been printed in the *Foundery Collection* had appeared in either or both of *Divine Musical Miscellany* (1754), associated with George Whitefield, or Thomas Butts’ *Harmonia Sacra* (1754). Both volumes had strong associations with Methodism: although Wesley and Whitefield had significant theological disagreements concerning the doctrine of predestination, the latter was arguably the most important figure alongside the Wesley brothers in the earlier years of the movement. Whitefield was particularly active in Bristol where he maintained a strong presence in the Society and in London, where he established a rival society at the Tabernacle, near the Foundery, for whom this collection was intended. The *Methodist Archives Biographical Index* notes that Thomas Butts ‘acted with William Briggs as the first steward of the Book

<sup>13</sup> These numbers refer to Adams’ listings, which continue consecutively through the *Foundery Collection*, *Hymns on the Great Festivals and Other Occasions*, *Sacred Melody* and *Sacred Harmony*.



Room [at the Foundery], where his honesty and business acumen proved invaluable.

His *Harmonia Sacra* was the chief source for Wesley's *Sacred Melody*.<sup>14</sup>

The specific tunes borrowed from these collections will be discussed hereafter, though some general observations on their editorial quality and practice will emphasise the broader influence they exerted on Wesley and Methodist music.

The *Hymn Tunes Index* notes that *Divine Musical Miscellany* was 'For use with George Whitefield's *Hymns for Social Worship*, . . . Design'd for the use of the *Tabernacle congregation, in London* (London, 1753)' and was advertised in the *Scots Magazine* in May 1754.<sup>15</sup> It contains 68 tunes printed in two parts, melody and bass, on two clefs. The provision of bass lines for the tunes implies either instrumental accompaniment was accepted practice at the Tabernacle or that there were male singers capable of singing this lower part. Unlike the typeset *Foundery Collection*, the volume was engraved, indicating a higher quality of production. Of the 68 tunes, 31 are original in this volume, according to the *Hymn Tune Index*.<sup>16</sup> In common with most collections of the time, none of the tunes are attributed to a composer; the hymn texts are by various authors including Charles Wesley and Whitefield himself. The music is clearly printed and the book's printing assists its use considerably; unlike the *Foundery Collection*, which printed tunes with little space in between and often over a page turn, tunes here are generally printed one per page throughout. Although an altogether superior volume to the *Foundery Collection*, its status as the official tune

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<sup>14</sup> Gareth Lloyd, 'Methodist Archives and Research Centre: Biographical Index', <<http://rylibweb.man.ac.uk/data1/dg/methodist/bio/bioind.html>>, accessed 05/09/07.

<sup>15</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Source #DMM.

<sup>16</sup> This total should be lower, as at least one tune, HAVANT appeared in the *Foundery Collection* (as HEMDYKE); presumably the editorial flaws of the latter have prevented a connection being established in the database.

book for Whitefield's society would have limited its use within Wesleyan circles, due to the theological disputes between the two leaders, although Carlton Young suggests that it 'may also have been used by some societies.'<sup>17</sup> Nonetheless, the musical quality of the collection and its clear association with Methodism are the obvious reasons for the influence it extends over the music of *Sacred Melody*. Young notes that

The collection's music editor is unknown, but its subtitle, "great part of which were never before in Print," suggests the work of one of many knowledgeable musicians in the evangelical movement, including the Wesley's friend and colleague, John Cennick, who for a time directed the singing classes at the Tabernacle.<sup>18</sup>

*Harmonia Sacra* is musically more elaborate and a yet more substantial volume than either the *Foundery Collection* or *Divine Musical Miscellany*. Nicholas Temperley describes the nature of its content, illustrating the primary change it brought to Methodist music with the widespread emancipation of secular music: 'a set of 162 tunes compiled and published by Thomas Butts, set mostly for three voices, with figured basses for domestic use. Butts greatly expanded the use of religious parodies of English urban popular songs, some from the theatre.'<sup>19</sup> The three-part settings contain the tune in the middle voice, supported by a bass line, with an independent treble part above, which may have been intended for a singer or instrumentalist. The two-part settings are simpler melody and bass arrangements. Butts' close association with Wesley at the Foundery and his familiarity with Methodism's work in publishing and book-selling may have prompted the publication of this book, as suggested by

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<sup>17</sup> Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 70.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 66.

<sup>19</sup> Nicholas Temperley, 'Methodist Church Music', in L. Macy (ed.), *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com/>>, accessed 05/09/07.



Young, 'Butts may have used the failure of the 1742 collection as a compelling reason for compiling *Harmonia Sacra*'.<sup>20</sup> The first advertisements for this volume appear in 1754, placing it almost exactly contemporary with *Divine Musical Miscellany*. As with *Divine Musical Miscellany*, this volume was engraved, again resulting in a superior printing quality to that found in the *Foundery Collection*.

*Divine Musical Miscellany* and *Harmonia Sacra* share a considerable common corpus of tunes, suggesting that these were commonly used among various Methodist Societies, but also indicating that the two books were intended to be used independently of each other, possibly due to the conflicting theological positions of Whitefield and Wesley, and thus the communities in which these volumes would have been primarily used.

The musical editing and arrangement of *Harmonia Sacra* indicates that Butts was a skilful musician and a capable, consistent editor. The harmonisations of the hymns are largely straightforward; although the text is only inter-lined for the melody voice, both other parts follow a similar rhythm, implying that the syllabic setting is to be applied in the same manner if these parts are sung rather than played. Consonant chords dominate, with some use of sequences, occasional dissonances such as accented passing notes, and other harmonic functions such as pedal notes. The top treble part is usually equally balanced in range with the melody line, mirroring its contours, creating an alternation between descant and alto. There is much use of parallel thirds and sixths between the voices as well as numerous cadential 4-3 and 8-7 suspensions. The range of this part occasionally exceeds that of the melody and

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<sup>20</sup> Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 66.

often maintains a high tessitura for lengthy phrases, suggesting that it may have been intended as an instrumental part.

The tune AMSTERDAM, which has the same title in both the *Foundery Collection* and *Harmonia Sacra*, illustrates many of the harmonic characteristics of the volume as a whole. The bass line is largely functional, with much use of root position chords, though there is parallel movement with the melody at several points, particularly when the melody has an extended passage of step-wise movement; the second half of the third phrase uses a dominant pedal, the tension of which is resolved onto the tonic at the beginning of the fourth phrase. The final cadence employs a routine Ic-V-I progression, strengthened further by the contrary motion between melody and bass preceding it. The upper treble part moves in parallel with the melody for much of the time, mostly a third above in the first, second and fourth phrases, and a third below in the third phrase. At the main cadential points at the ends of phrases two and four, it acts as a descant creating minor dissonances, properly prepared and resolved. There is some awkwardness in this part, particularly in the first two phrases, which contain unexpected melodic leaps. The final phrase is repeated, highlighting a common characteristic of the *Foundery Collection*.<sup>21</sup> The higher editorial quality of *Harmonia Sacra* can be observed in the revised pitch of this tune; in the *Foundery Collection* it is set in C major, rising to b'', while here it has been transposed down a perfect fourth to G major, resulting in a more manageable highest pitch of e'', due also in part to melodic modifications.

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<sup>21</sup> However, this tune does not have a repeat in the *Foundery Collection*.



God of un - ex - am - pled Grace Re - deem - er of Man - kind, Mat - ter of e - ter - nal Praise We

in thy Pas - sion find; Still our choic - est Strains we bring, Still the joy - ful

Tæne pur - sue Thee the Friend of Sin - ners and Whose Love is ev - er new.

Figure VIII-1: AMSTERDAM from *Harmonia Sacra* (1754)

As well as relatively straightforward hymn settings of this nature, the collection also contains two longer settings of hymn texts, in the ‘set piece’ anthem style.<sup>22</sup> These employ a far greater range of musical techniques, including extended melismas, trills, changes in time signature and implied changes in vocal forces through ‘Chorus’ markings. The editorial practice also implies a performance directly from the score rather than as hymns sung by the congregation without music through the inclusion of ‘Volti Subito’ markings.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> ‘The Voice of my Beloved sounds’ also appears in the second edition, where it is noted ‘Set by Mr Holcombe.’ The other anthem sets the text ‘Hail, Hail reviv’d reviving Spring’ and is headed ‘Hymn for the Spring’ in the second edition.

<sup>23</sup> Later editions of *Harmonia Sacra* also included several adaptations of movements from Handel’s operas and oratorios, sometimes with the original secular texts, complete with instrumental introductions and conclusions.

Both the elaborate three-part hymn settings and the inclusion of these pieces suggest a degree of musicality among the intended users of this volume that contrasts markedly with that implied by the *Foundery Collection*. Not only are singers required with sufficient skill to realise the demands of the set-piece anthems, but the hymn settings alone imply either singers among the congregation capable of singing harmony parts, presumably read from the score, or instrumentalists to play these other parts to accompany the unison singing of the congregation.

Both *Divine Musical Miscellany* and *Harmonia Sacra* show considerably higher standards of editorial practice and musical knowledge than the *Foundery Collection*, but the importance of this volume cannot be overlooked. Many of its tunes reappear in both these collections and although the respective editors make necessary corrections and amendments, their inclusion serves to highlight the significance of the earlier volume.<sup>24</sup> Despite its editorial and printing problems, the tunes contained in it were clearly representative of the repertoire in common use among the early Methodists; their inclusion in these later volumes suggests widespread familiarity with these melodies, as the *Foundery Collection* could not have served to introduce them to a wider audience.

Therefore it is unsurprising that they are the main sources of material for *Sacred Melody*; the corrected versions of tunes previously printed under Wesley's direction would have made them an obvious source for those melodies well-known to Methodists, and the large corpus of shared material in the two volumes suggests that they also included many familiar tunes that had not been included in the *Foundery*

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<sup>24</sup> See Appendix I for full details of tunes common to these volumes.



*Collection* or had gained popularity after its publication. Furthermore, their stylistic emphases, particularly the practice in *Harmonia Sacra* of using melodies either adapted from secular sources or newly composed in a similar style, indicates the musical tastes and preferences of particular groups within Methodism, and was thus a valuable resource to enhance the musical popularity of Wesley's new collection of tunes.

However, both volumes differed in their presentation of the music from the model established by Wesley in the *Foundery Collection*. No unison settings are to be found, and both volumes imply a greater degree of musical awareness and skill among the congregation, particularly in the case of *Harmonia Sacra*. These editorial decisions may have been well justified on the basis of the musical practices familiar to Butts and Whitefield, but Wesley's desire to create a body of music that would be used by Methodists on a far wider scale meant that such assumptions were avoided. The most significant difference, both in practical and theoretical terms, between these two volumes and *Sacred Melody* is the latter's use of melody-line only settings, in the manner first observed in the *Foundery Collection*. Young argues that


In pointing out that Butts' collection is scored "not only for the voice, but likewise for the organ [*sic.*] or harpsichord," Wesley appears to be defending the unison-unaccompanied format of both his 1742 and his 1761 collections, contrasted with a number of contemporary collections scored for two or three voices, organ or harpsichord, and figured bass (in evangelical chapels, a cello [*viol*] sometimes doubled the bass line).<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 69.

## Tunes from the *Foundery Collection*: Editorial Improvements and Omissions

The editorial and printing errors that plagued Wesley’s first collection of tunes are corrected in this volume, which shows evidence of a more discriminating and consistent musical editor. Incorrect barring, so common in the earlier collection, is largely avoided here; BURFORD, which was titled ST JOHN’S TUNE in the *Foundery Collection*, illustrates the superior editorial quality of *Sacred Melody*, the barlines are correctly placed and the tune beginning with an anacrusis. These corrections show the influence of both Whitefield’s *Divine Musical Miscellany* and Butts’ *Harmonia Sacra*, both of which included a correctly-barred version of the tune under the title BURFORD.



The image displays a musical score for the tune 'BURFORD'. It consists of two staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first staff begins with an anacrusis (a half note G4) followed by a bar line. The melody is written in a simple, hymn-like style. The lyrics are: 'O Sun of Right - eous - ness\_\_ a - rise, With Heal - ing in thy Wing;'. The second staff also begins with an anacrusis (a half note G4) followed by a bar line. The melody continues. The lyrics are: 'To my\_\_ dis - eas'd, my faint - ing Soul, Life and Sal - va - tion bring.' The score is presented in a clear, legible format, with the lyrics aligned under the corresponding notes.

Figure VIII-2: BURFORD

Other tunes common to both of Wesley’s collections contain alterations beyond the correction of basic errors in transcription. For example, HAVANT, a corrected version of HEMDYKE TUNE in the *Foundery Collection*, contains alterations of pitch and rhythm in all but one of its phrases; some of these may be merely corrections of melodic errors, such as making the first note of the final phrase B rather than D. Others are more significant; the incorrectly notated sequence of the second and third phrases in the *Foundery Collection* is correctly printed here in its rhythm, but the



melody of the third phrase has ascending rather than descending quavers. The other changes in the final phrase are largely decorative, perhaps reflecting the influence of more elaborate hymn tunes and common performance practice.

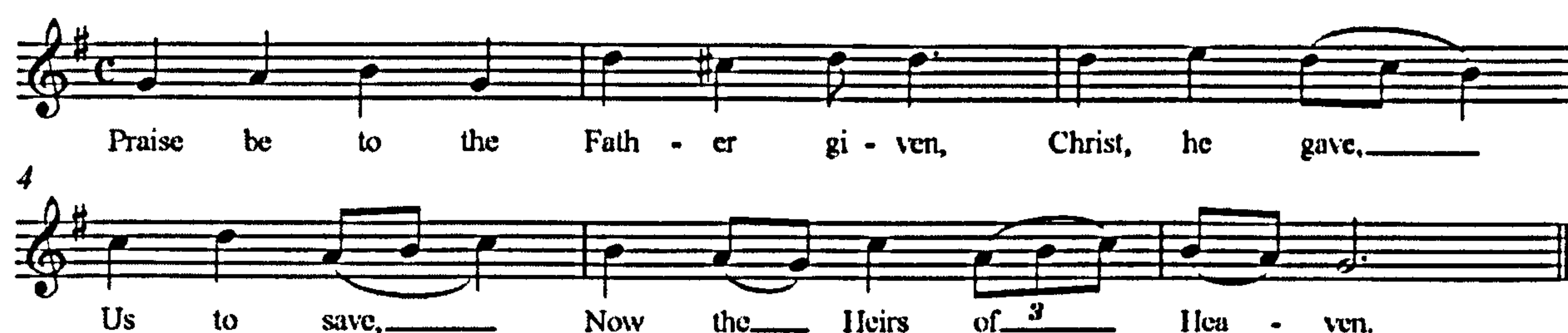


Figure VIII-3: HAVANT

Problems of pitch are also corrected in *Sacred Melody*; HANDEL'S MARCH, which appeared as JERICHO in the *Foundery Collection*, extending to d'', is transposed down a perfect fifth into G major. This makes the top note g'', which is in keeping with the range of many other tunes in the volume. Furthermore, the melodic complexities noted in the *Foundery Collection*, such as rapid semiquaver passages, have been simplified, making the tune more suitable for congregational singing. Its considerable length remains a problematic issue in this respect, but the tune is now considerably more manageable musically. Again, *Sacred Melody* owes a debt to Butts' *Harmonia Sacra*, which first transposed it into G, and was the first publication to include this tune after the ill-fated *Foundery Collection* version.

Sol - diers of Christ a - rise, And put your Ar-mour on, Strong in the Strength which God sup-plies, Thro'  
 7 Strong in the Lord of Hosts, And in his migh-ty Power, Who in the Strength of Je- sus trusts Is  
 his e - ter - nal Son; Stand, then, in His great might, With all his Strength en - du'd, and  
 13 more than Con-que - ror,  
 take to arm you for the Fight, The Pa-no-ply of God, That have-ing all Things done, And  
 19 all your Con - flicts past, Ye may o'er come thro' Christ, Ye  
 23 may o'er come thro' Christ a - lone, And stand en - tire at Last.

Figure VIII-4: HANDEL'S MARCH

Only six of the forty two tunes from the *Foundery Collection* do not reappear in *Sacred Melody*. Of these, two may be due to the editorial errors in the earlier collection; ST ATHOL discussed above, appears to have been printed in the wrong clef, which renders it musically incoherent, while TANS'UR'S is set in the minor mode, the only such instance of this tune, suggesting a further editorial error.<sup>26</sup> Significantly, none of these tunes is to be found in Whitefield's *Divine Musical Miscellany*, and only CRIPPLEGATE appears in Butts' *Harmonia Sacra*, which further emphasises the influence of these two volumes on the editor of *Sacred Melody*. This appears to be the only reason behind the exclusion of ST MARY'S, CRIPPLEGATE, BROMSGROVE and TANS'UR'S, as none of them suffers any greater editorial misjudgements or printing errors than other tunes that are included in *Sacred Melody*, while the stylistic diversity suggests that they cannot have been omitted solely on the grounds of musical preference.

<sup>26</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 1416b.



Many of the tunes discussed below came to be included in *Sacred Melody* via *Divine Musical Miscellany* and *Harmonia Sacra*, but fall into a wide variety of styles. These need to be independently assessed in order to understand the reasons behind their inclusion in *Sacred Melody* and these other collections associated with Methodism.

### **Tunes by John Frederick Lampe**

Lampe's twenty-four tunes from *Hymns on the Great Festivals and Other Occasions* were all reprinted in *Harmonia Sacra*, and fifteen of them were also included in *Sacred Melody*. Eleven of these retain the same text that Lampe set, occasionally with minor revisions, and were also used in *Harmonia Sacra*. Two settings differ from the text used by Lampe, instead using the text set in *Harmonia Sacra*, one, TRINITY sets a new text where *Harmonia Sacra* retains Lampe's text, while significantly, MAGDALEN uses the same text as Lampe, 'Happy Magdalene, to whom Christ the Lord vouchsafed t'appear', while *Harmonia Sacra* sets 'Come, ye weary sinners, come, all who groan to bear your load'. This indicates that Wesley used Lampe's collection as a primary source for *Sacred Melody* as well as relying on *Harmonia Sacra*, which gives further evidence of the esteem in which he held Lampe's tunes. Nonetheless, *Harmonia Sacra* is still an important source for these tunes, two of which appear in *Sacred Melody* in the revised versions found in Butts' collection.

Four additional tunes by Lampe are also included; three of these, BUILTH, WEDNESBURY and WOODS again owe their inclusion to *Harmonia Sacra*, where they were first published. The fourth, BACKSLIDER which had not previously been published, is one the most awkward tunes in the collection, extremely unsuitable for congregational singing due to its extremely florid melody and lack of structure. Its

rhythmic construction is extremely complex, while the melody makes several octave leaps. The implied harmonic basis is more complex than is found elsewhere, which contributes to the lack of clear structural reference points for the tune. There are several awkward word accents, reflecting the tune's inability to respond to the subtlety of Charles Wesley's text 'Jesu, let thy pitying Eye'. The tune is extremely active throughout, lacking simpler passages to counterbalance the complexity of many of the phrases. Adams comments on the poor quality of the tune, highlighting its lack of suitability for congregational singing: 'It is an overdone, florid, awkward, "yodel" type of tune identified with the critics of the "Old Methodist" style of singing. It appears to be too much even for Wesley, for he omits it from [Sacred] H[armony].'<sup>27</sup> This tune clearly indicates that Lampe, a skilled composer, was not writing with a musically untrained congregation in mind, but rather for a skilled solo singer from a similar cultural background to his own. Furthermore, it indicates that the compiler of *Sacred Melody*, while obviously familiar with Lampe's work, did not possess the musical discrimination evinced by Butts, who presumably chose to disregard this tune when compiling *Harmonia Sacra*.

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<sup>27</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 168-69.



Je - su let thy pity - ing Eye Call back a wand' - ring Sheep;—

5 False to Thee, like Pe - ter I would fain like Pe - ter weep,—

9 Let me be by Grace re - stor'd, On me be all Long suffer - ing shewn;

13 Turn and look up - on me Lord, Turn and look up - on me Lord, and

17 break my heart of stone, and break my heart of Stone.

Figure VIII-5: BACKSLIDER

## German Tunes

Adams identifies four tunes of German origin that were not included in the *Foundery Collection*, all of which can be found in the first edition of *Harmonia Sacra*, though three of the tunes had previously been published in England. OLD GERMAN appears exactly as in Butts' collection, though both Adams and the *Hymn Tune Index* note that this is a heavily altered version of the original chorale melody: 'This tune has some resemblance to Zahn 1445 ('Dein Leben, o Welt'), especially in the final line.'<sup>28</sup> This tune has a strong rhythmic motif in three of its four short phrases, which creates a purposeful momentum and assists easy memorisation of the tune through the balance of rhythmic predictability and melodic variety. Adams comments that 'The tune, as developed in HS, is short and effective.'<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 2255a.

<sup>29</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 133.



Figure VIII-6: OLD GERMAN

The tune SACRAMENT illustrates the complex range of musical influences on Wesley, Moravian hymnody, the relationship between sacred and secular music and the role of *Harmonia Sacra*. The tune is derived from a German lullaby ‘Ich sage gut Nacht’ and had been assimilated into the Moravian tradition set to the hymn ‘In Christo gelebt’, and had been transmitted into English Moravian repertoire in *The Tunes for the Hymns in the Collection with several translations from the Moravian Hymn-Book* (London: For James Hutton, [c.1744]). *Harmonia Sacra* included a heavily altered version of the tune, joining the final two phrases into one longer phrase of 11 syllables, adding several decorative notes and transposing the tune from G to E. The latter version became the widely accepted form of the tune for later English publications, which, in the eighteenth century, were often connected with Methodism. It is a well balanced tune, with elements of rhythmic repetition, contrast between ascending and descending melodic phrases and a clearly implied harmonic framework, factors which combine to make it suitable for congregational singing.



Descending Ascending

Ah tell me no more, The Spi - rit and

4

Balanced

Pow'r Of Je - sus our God, is not to be

8

Descending

found in this Life - giv - ing Food.

Figure VIII-7: SACRAMENT

DRESDEN, described by Adams as ‘an excellent chorale tune’<sup>30</sup> also appeared for the first time in England in *The Tunes for the Hymns in the Collection with several translations from the Moravian Hymn-Book* and subsequently in *Harmonia Sacra*, this time without alteration. Although a lengthy tune, its clear phrase structure, elements of melodic and rhythmic repetition, confined range of a sixth and almost completely step-wise movement would allow it to be easily learnt by a congregation. It is simply decorated with passing notes, occasional trills and notes of anticipation, which sustain interest.

tr

He dies the heav' - nly Lo - ver dies, The Ti-dings strike a dole - ful Sound.  
On my poor Heart-strings deep he lies In the cold Ca-vern of the Ground.

6

tr

Come Saints, and drop a Tear or two, On the dear Bo-som of your GOD:

11

tr

He shed a thou-sand Drops for you, A thou-sand drops of rich-er Blood.

Figure VIII-8: DRESDEN

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. 154.

The precise origins of NEWCASTLE are difficult to establish, although its first English publication was again in Hutton’s 1744 collection. Butts used this version in *Harmonia Sacra*, while *Divine Musical Miscellany* contains a slightly revised version without repeats. The *Hymn Tune Index* notes that this tune is ‘Clearly the same tune as that for the German Moravian hymn ‘Ich rühme mich einzig’ (Zahn 1485). The latter is in 12.12.12.12.0 meter, but Zahn gives no source earlier than Gregor (1784).’<sup>31</sup> The version in *Sacred Melody* conforms to the melodic pattern of the version in *Harmonia Sacra* but, like *Divine Musical Miscellany*, omits the repeat of the final two lines. The tune is typical of the eighteenth-century chorale style observed elsewhere in Wesley’s collections. However, one unusual aspect is the inclusion of three rests between the sixth and seventh phrases; musically, there is no need for these rests, as the first note of the seventh phrase would complete the bar at the end of the sixth phrase and there is no precedent for them earlier in the melody. If sung as indicated, this would impede the tune’s effectiveness with a congregation by creating an unnecessary hiatus.

8 All thanks to the\_ Lamb, who gives us to meet, We own him\_ our\_ Je - sus; Con -  
His Love we pro - claim, His Prai - ses re - peat;  
tin - u' - lly\_ near, To par - don and bless us, And per - fect us\_ here.

Figure VIII-9: NEWCASTLE

The inclusion of these four melodies of German origin point to the continuing influence of Moravian musical thought and practice on Methodism, even though the

<sup>31</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 1699a.



two groups had split many years before. These well-edited tunes, although sometimes altered from their original forms, illustrate well the practicality of such melodies for congregational use. The intention first expressed in the *Foundery Collection* of establishing them as a significant part of the core repertoire of Methodism is now fully realised. The clearly identifiable secular origin of SACRAMENT also provides a paradigm for the practice of adopting secular tunes for sacred purposes that was to become a key feature of Methodist music. Its heritage within the Moravian musical tradition, so admired by Wesley, can be understood as a determining factor in the legitimisation of this process within Methodism. The single disastrous attempt at this in the *Foundery Collection* is superseded in *Sacred Melody* by more successful adaptations from a variety of secular sources, reflecting not only the influence of *Harmonia Sacra*, but also the Moravian model.

## Tunes from Anglican Sources

Adams identifies seven tunes, all located in *Harmonia Sacra*, which had previously been printed in Anglican sources; within these, two distinct periods of English psalm and hymn tune composition are represented. Two tunes, BABYLON and KINGSWOOD, were originally composed by Thomas Campion and published in a collection of his works, *Two Bookes of Ayres. The first contayning divine and morall songs* (London: Tho. Snodham, for Matthew Lownes, and I. Browne), c.1613, which contained a mixture of psalm tunes and secular songs. The first of these tunes is printed unaltered in *Harmonia Sacra* and *Sacred Melody*, and its regular phrasing and rhythm, balanced melody and implied harmonic clarity make it a fine example of the seventeenth-century psalm tune style that exerted a strong influence on early Methodist music. KINGSWOOD is substantially altered from Campion's original in different versions by Butts and the editor of *Sacred Melody*. Both versions contained a greater degree of

ornamentation than Champion's original tune, which in itself is considerably more active than BABYLON, leading Adams to argue that this should be regarded as a hymn tune rather than a psalm tune.<sup>32</sup> One unusual feature is the extended seventh phrase, derived from the original, set here to the repeated words 'Friend of Sinners', employing some degree of melodic and rhythmic sequence, which is in contrast with the straightforward manner of the first four phrases. This repeated phrase lends a more dramatic element to the tune, through its rising melodic line, emphasising the plea of the text. Significantly, the version in *Sacred Melody* is markedly different from that found in *Harmonia Sacra*, which indicates that rather than merely being an accurate copyist, the editor of *Sacred Melody* was also a capable musician, able to revise Butts' edition in a musically accurate manner.<sup>33</sup> One of the most notable changes is the insertion of a decorative note at the end of the extended penultimate phrase, which connects it more readily to the final phrase, as dictated by the text, 'Friend of Sinners, let me find,/ my Help, my All in Thee.' In Butts' version, the penultimate phrase ends on the tonic note, which restricts the melodic momentum towards the final phrase, while in *Sacred Melody*, the addition of a decorative note leading by step to the final phrase (\*) clearly indicates that the tune is not finished.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 169.

<sup>33</sup> The version in *Harmonia Sacra* is clearly used as the basis for the version in *Sacred Melody*, as the changes made to the first four phrases of the original in the former publication are reproduced exactly. See Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 301, variants a, b, and c.

<sup>34</sup> This aspect of the *Sacred Melody* version is closer to Champion's original, as illustrated by the melodic incipit for this section of each version: 5(4)3(2)1(D7) - 6(7)U1 (HTI 301a, Champion), 3(2)11 - D7U1 (HTI 301b, Butts), 3(2)11(D6) - 5U1 (HTI 301c, *Sacred Melody*) The change is not explained by the absence of harmony parts in *Sacred Melody*; Butts' version has a static G major chord with a minim in each voice at the end of the penultimate phrase.



Wret - ched help - less and dis - trest, Ah whit - her\_ shall I fly?  
8 Ev - er gasp - ing af - ter Rest, I can - not\_ find it nigh:  
Na - ked, sick and poor and blind, I am bound in Sin and Mi - se - ry;  
16 Friend of\_ Sin - ners, Friend of\_ Sin - ners, Friend of Sin - ners\_  
22 let\_ me find,\_ my Help,\_ my\_ All in Thee.

Figure VIII-10: KINGSWOOD

The other five tunes all date from eighteenth-century Anglican sources and share many common characteristics. They are flowing melodies using largely step-wise movement and employing many decorative passing notes and notes of anticipation. Regular rhythmic phrases aid the learning of these tunes, and the use of melodic and rhythmic sequences at once increases their congregational suitability and creates a greater sense of interest and climax, illustrated in LONDON, where the sequentially rising fifth and sixth phrases highlight the bold text ‘Th’ unwearied Sun from Day to Day,/ Does his Creator’s Power display’ by climaxing on the highest note of the tune (\*), and propelling the tune towards its conclusion with the implied subdominant harmony:

The spac-ious Firm-a - ment on high, With all the blue, e - ther - eal Sky, And spang-led Heavens a  
shin - ing Frame, Their great O - ri - gi - nal pro - claim. Th'un - wear - ied Sun from Day to Day, Does  
his Cre - a - tor's Power dis - play; And pub - li - shes to ev - ery Land, The  
Work of an al - migh - ty Hand, the Work of an al - migh - ty Hand.

Figure VIII-11: LONDON

The tune titled HALLELUJAH extends these principles, creating a heavily ornamented tune that places considerable demands on the singers. Adapted by Butts from a slightly simpler original tune by William Markham, the conclusion of the verse, in 3/2 time, is followed by an extended ‘Hallelujah chorus’, in Common Time. The melody of the verse is ornamented in a manner similar to other contemporary tunes in the collection, with the exception of the sixth phrase, which contains an attempt at word painting through a descending scale on ‘Floor’. The chorus makes extensive use of short dotted note values in alternation with more declamatory crotchets. The heavy ornamentation of this tune seems excessive in comparison with the other examples from similar sources, and would surely have made accurate performance difficult.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Interestingly, both *Harmonia Sacra* and *Divine Musical Miscellany* contain exactly the same adaptation of the original, which had not appeared before these two volumes were published in 1754. This suggests collaboration between the respective editors, or at least that one was familiar with the other’s work. Also, the Anglican source of the tune raises interesting questions about the practice of ‘Hallelujah choruses’, which were frequently condemned as one of the most deplorable aspects of Methodist music. Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, notes that Markham’s original tune was ‘Followed by a hallelujah.’ (HTI Tune 1139a) First published in *The Second Book of the Divine Companion: or, David’s Harp New Tun’d* (1725), which contained hymn tunes, anthems and set-pieces, this suggests that some Anglican hymn tunes had adopted this practice, perhaps influenced by the other related genres in this and other publications, and that Methodism may have adopted this performance style from such sources.



Praise ye the Lord, ye immortal Quire, That fill the Realms above,  
Praise him who form'd you of his Fire, And feeds you with his Love.  
Shine to his Praise, ye chrystal Skies, The Floor of his Abode:  
Or veil in Shades your thousand Eyes, Before your brighter GOD.  
Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Hallelujah.

Figure VIII-12: HALLELUJAH

Adaptations of Secular Music

The new German tunes highlight the use of secular music in a sacred context within the Moravian tradition and the adoption of this practice by Methodism. The first edition of *Sacred Melody* contains seven such adaptations, with a further two added in the second edition.<sup>36</sup> Six of the seven had previously been published as hymn tunes, all appearing first in sources connected with Methodism, illustrating that this was a recognised area of the Methodist musical repertoire. Most of the original sources are vocal music, though one is taken from an instrumental work. Two of the settings have an extra significance; rather than being purely musical adaptations, the associated texts by Charles Wesley are parodies of the original secular texts set to these melodies. ‘He comes! he comes! the Judge severe’ is a parody of ‘He comes, he comes, the hero comes’, from Henry Carey’s *Britannia* (1734), for which Carey was

<sup>36</sup> These will be discussed below along with the other material added in the second edition.

both librettist and composer. Carey's work would have been familiar to Wesley, possibly through a common acquaintanceship with John Frederick Lampe, for whom Carey had been a librettist. The more famous parody, 'Love divine, all loves excelling', is set to a song from Henry Purcell's opera *King Arthur* (1691), and based on a lyric from Dryden's libretto:

Fairest Isle, all isles excelling,  
Seat of pleasures, and of loves;  
Venus here will choose her dwelling,  
And forsake her Cyprian groves.

J.R. Watson describes how Charles 'characteristically takes over a classical reference and makes a Christian point: instead of Venus, the goddess of love, leaving Cyprus for the British Isles, Divine Love is to leave heaven and dwell in the human heart.'<sup>37</sup>

Love Divine, all loves excelling,  
Joy of heaven to earth come down,  
Fix in us thy humble dwelling,  
All thy faithful mercies crown.

Elsewhere, Watson comments that as well as using traditional Biblical imagery, 'Wesley also takes over secular images and uses them to indicate the love of God.'<sup>38</sup> He argues that in examples such as this, Charles's response to the pre-existing text

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<sup>37</sup> J. R. Watson, *An Annotated Anthology of Hymns* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) 196. Watson notes several other literary references in this text; a story in Book VIII of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* provides the inspiration for the reference to 'humble dwelling' and the line 'Never more thy temples leave', while the final line of the hymn 'Lost in wonder, love and praise' is a transformation of lines from a poem by Addison, 'Transported with the view, I'm lost/ In wonder, love and praise.' See Watson, *An Annotated Anthology of Hymns* 196-97.

<sup>38</sup> Watson, *The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study* 246.



heightens the effectiveness of the message he intends to convey through the hymn: 'Wesley is writing against an original text, and a knowledge of that text sharpens a sense of what he is doing.'<sup>39</sup>

The text of 'Love Divine' follows a theological journey modelled on a typically Wesleyan framework, emphasising the significance of personal faith and salvation, offered to all, within the context of the wider religious community. The secular inspiration for the text adds a further stage to this journey, transporting the singer from a very precise and familiar cultural situation. Using the associated secular melody creates another tangible stage in the journey of salvation depicted in the hymn text, while it also serves as a representation of that very journey, allowing singers and hearers to be metaphorically transported from the secular world of the theatre to considerations of salvation and eternal life. The repetitive use of the melody throughout the journey of the text serves to remind the congregation of the starting point of the journey of faith, represented in this example by the secular environment of the theatre, but more generally, their everyday social condition. The full effect of the parody is realised only through this combination of text and music; the melody serves as an audible and memorable reminder of this particular theological message in a unique form of cultural engagement.

Based on the complexity of other tunes in *Sacred Melody*, Purcell's elegant melody, labelled WESTMINSTER, is eminently suitable for congregational singing, placing fewer demands on the singers than several other tunes in the collection. It is melismatic throughout, but to a lesser extent than eighteenth-century tunes by

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid. 247.

composers such as Lampe. Exhibiting the melodic, harmonic and structural balance observed in many seventeenth-century psalm tunes, the decorative nature of this tune, in keeping with its secular origin, is well-suited to the task of conveying the joy expressed through the transformational experience described in the text: ‘the prayer for the Saviour to visit the trembling heart; the receiving of grace, so that the redeemed soul can pray and praise; and the finishing of the new creation, ending with the final transformation into the full glory of heaven.’<sup>40</sup> Watson’s suggestion that ‘Wesley may have had [Purcell’s setting] in his mind when writing the words’<sup>41</sup> seems likely given the obvious parody of the secular text associated with the same melody.

Love Fix Di vine, all Loves ex cell - ing,  
in us thy hum - ble Dwell - ing.

Joy of thy Heaven, to ful Earth come down;  
All thy faith - ful Mer - cies crown:

Je - su, Thou art all Com - pass - ion,  
Pure, un - bound - ed Love Thou art;

Vi - sit us with thy Sal - va - tion,  
En - ter eve - ry trem - bling Heart.

Figure VIII-13: WESTMINSTER

<sup>40</sup> Watson, *An Annotated Anthology of Hymns* 196.  
<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 197.



The other tunes based on vocal music are derived from solo songs and exhibit a freer use of ornamentation than is found in many of the specifically-composed hymn tunes, along with many affective melodic leaps and dramatic contrasts between rising sequences and rapidly descending melodies. GUERNSEY, based on Henry Holcombe’s song ‘Arno’s Vale’ exhibits many of these characteristics; its rapidly descending scales and intricate rhythmic patterns, while well suited to a skilled solo singer, would pose problems in performance by a large, generally musically untrained congregation. However, this tune and others from similar sources are well edited and clearly structured, with elements of repetition that provide arguments in support of their effectiveness as congregational melodies and in keeping with the characteristics of contemporary sacred music. Adams notes that ‘when one compares these tunes to others in [Sacred] M[elody] and contemporary books of the period, it is difficult to find a great contrast between sacred and secular.’<sup>42</sup>

When shall thy love - ly Face be seen, When shall our Eyes be - hold our God?

9 What Lengths of Dis - tance lie be - tween, And Hills of Guilt, a hea - vy Load!

17 Ye heav' - nly Gates, loose all your Chains, Let the e - ter - nal Pill - ars bow,

26 Blest Sa - viour, cleave the star - ry Plains, And make the crys - tal Moun - tains flow.

Figure VIII-14: GUERNSEY

<sup>42</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 127.

The tune EPWORTH is the only example of a melody borrowed from an identifiable instrumental source; the *Hymn Tune Index* notes that it is ‘Based on the Gavotte from John Humphries’s Concerto Op. 2, No. 7, published c.1755.’<sup>43</sup> The adaptation bears several indications of its instrumental origin, featuring large upward and downward melodic leaps in quick succession and making use of short note values. The ‘scotch snap’ rhythmic device, a semiquaver followed by a dotted quaver is frequently used, and in conjunction with melodic leaps, would be considerably easier to realise accurately on a string instrument than by the vocal capabilities of a congregation.<sup>44</sup> However, the most extended rhythmically complex section occurs at the end of the tune, where a ‘Hallelujah chorus’ is employed, thus making the task of fitting the text to these fast-moving notes considerably easier through the use of regular melismas. Although the range of the tune is no greater than that found elsewhere in the book, the combination of sudden leaps to high notes (A) and several consecutive notes above c’’ on three occasions (B) would present a significant challenge to a congregation singing in unison, without instrumental support.

Figure VIII-15: EPWORTH

<sup>43</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 2256. Richard Platt’s grovemusic.com entry on Humphries (c.1706-1733) gives an earlier publication date of c.1740 for this set of Concertos, which makes the timescale for adaptation of the melody more feasible. Richard Platt, ‘Humphries, John’, in L. Macy (ed.), *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com/>>, accessed 05/09/07.

<sup>44</sup> Platt notes that ‘The op.2 set is primarily for strings’ Platt, ‘Humphries, John’.



The origins of the other tunes that Adams categorises as having secular origins are less clear. He notes that Frost claims MORNING SONG is derived from a Concerto by Corelli, but that this cannot be substantiated. This tune does have similarities in its melodic leaps to EPWORTH, which supports the idea that it may have originated as instrumental rather than vocal music. Likewise, the tune TOMB STONE contains many arpeggio figures and melodic leaps and occupies a consistently high tessitura, again suggesting an instrumental source. No instances of this melody being used as a hymn tune are recorded prior to *Sacred Melody*, and it does not appear in *Harmonia Sacra* until the 1767 edition, where it is inscribed WORGAN, suggesting that the composer may have been either James or John Worgan, well-known organists and composers in eighteenth-century London. However, the *Hymn Tune Index* notes that it is ‘Inscribed ‘Worgan’ in an early hand in the GB-Lbl copy of ButtTHS b, but not definitely traced to either James or John Worgan.’<sup>45</sup>

When I sur-vey the wond'rous Cross, On which the Prince of Glo-ry dy'd,

My rich-est Gain I count but loss And pour Con-tempt on all my Pride.

For-bid it, Lord, that I should boast, Save in the Death of Christ my God;

All the vain Things yet please me most, I Sac-ri-fice them to his Blood, I sac-ri-fice them to his Blood.

Figure VIII-16: TOMB STONE

<sup>45</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 2726.

The inclusion of these tunes from secular sources clearly indicates that Wesley understood that music could be used as a unique form of cultural engagement. Using melodies that would have been either directly familiar or at least stylistically familiar to listeners and setting them to texts steeped in Methodist theology offered an opportunity to communicate with people from a wide variety of social backgrounds, including those who were musically literate. Charles Wesley's parody texts, used in conjunction with the associated secular melodies are perhaps the most potent examples of this; the very familiarity of the music and the seemingly familiar nature of the text were surely intended to increase the personal significance of these hymns for those who were acquainted with their secular origins.

## Tunes Derived from Anthems

Adams identifies three tunes derived from previously published anthems, though only one of these, labelled CORNISH, appears in the first edition of *Sacred Melody*.<sup>46</sup> This tune, presented here as a single melody line, originated as a four-part setting by William Knapp (1698/9-c.1768), published in *A Sett of New Psalm-Tunes and Anthems* (1738). This collection contained 11 psalm tunes, 11 anthems and 1 canon; Nicholas Temperley notes that both this and Knapp's later collection of psalm tunes 'contain a good deal of Knapp's own composition.'<sup>47</sup> The style of Knapp's psalm tunes was clearly influenced by earlier practices and his work as a composer of anthems; the tunes are all in four parts, with the melody in the tenor, in the manner common in seventeenth-century Anglicanism, while two tunes, including CORNISH,

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<sup>46</sup> The other tunes, CANTERBURY and CHESHUNT will be discussed below along with the other additions to the second edition.

<sup>47</sup> Nicholas Temperley, 'Knapp, William', in L. Macy (ed.), *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com/>>, accessed 05/09/07.



begin with solo lines.<sup>48</sup> CORNISH, titled DORCHESTER by the composer is the most soloistic; the *Hymn Tune Index* notes that it 'Begins with solo lines for each of the 4 voices in turn.'<sup>49</sup> His compositions were very popular throughout the eighteenth century; Temperley notes that 'Knapp had an undoubted flair for effective melody, but was a little out of his depth in four-part counterpoint.'<sup>50</sup> Despite this unusual feature at the beginning of the tune, which prompted Adams' classification of the tune, it should be noted that it was published among the psalm tunes rather than the anthems in Knapp's collection. Nonetheless, its style is closer to an anthem than many other melodies contained in *Sacred Melody* and is indicative of the popularity of this more complex style of singing, which had seemingly exerted an influence on Methodism. This adaptation first appeared in *Divine Musical Miscellany* and *Harmonia Sacra*, the latter setting the same text, 'Come let us join our chearful songs' as *Sacred Melody*. Although both earlier publications are scored for more than one voice, they present the tune with the original four solo lines rewritten into one part, which is the only line printed in *Sacred Melody*.<sup>51</sup> The editing is successful and the tune is not hampered by this alteration; it is a long, flowing melody, which, although florid, is less heavily ornamented than other tunes in the collection, notably those composed by Lampe. Adams suggests that the style of this tune, with its soloistic character, may actually have influenced Lampe. The melody is dominated by a dotted quaver-semiquaver figuration, which maintains momentum, and has a strong phrase structure and implied harmonic basis that make it well suited to congregational

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<sup>48</sup> The *Hymn Tune Index* notes that Knapp's tune SANDWICH begins with a bass solo. Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 1508.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., Tune 1504a.

<sup>50</sup> Temperley, 'Knapp, William'.

<sup>51</sup> While the melody is identical, *Sacred Melody*, perhaps inadvertently, omits the repetition of 'But all' in the final phrase of the *Harmonia Sacra* version, instead extending 'all' over five notes, producing a rather inelegant result.

singing, bearing testimony both to Knapp’s skill as a composer and the ability of the editor responsible for this arrangement.

The image shows a musical score for a hymn titled 'CORNISH'. It is written in 3/4 time and G major (one sharp). The score consists of three staves of music, each with lyrics underneath. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: 'Come let us join our chear - ful Songs, With An - gels round the Throne;'. The second staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics are: 'Ten thou - sand thou - sand are their Tongues, But all their Joys are one;'. The third staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics are: 'Ten thou - sand thou - sand are their Tongues, But all their Joys are one.' The music is written in a single voice part, featuring a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some measures containing rests. The lyrics are aligned with the notes, with some words spanning across measures.

Come let us join our chear - ful Songs, With An - gels round the Throne;

Ten thou - sand thou - sand are their Tongues, But all their Joys are one;

Ten thou - sand thou - sand are their Tongues, But all their Joys are one.

Figure VIII-17: CORNISH

The inclusion of this tune, while not strictly derived from an anthem, indicates an acknowledgement on Wesley’s part of the popularity of the more florid style of psalm tune that prevailed in early-eighteenth-century Anglicanism and the associated performance practice, which required a higher degree of musical sophistication. However, the revision of the melody into a single voice-part for inclusion in Methodist publications indicates that this method of singing was not wholly approved of, and while the music itself may have been worthy of inclusion, it required amendment to conform with the performance practice Wesley desired for Methodism. This revision, included in collections authorised by both Whitefield and Wesley, indicates a common approach to performance practice across disparate Methodist groups, which can be seen as an upholding of the model first used in the *Foundery Collection*. Nonetheless, the inclusion of such material made it almost inevitable that the desire for more complex music would have to be met within Methodism, as will become evident in the discussion of the second edition of *Sacred Melody* and later works.



## Tunes from *Divine Musical Miscellany*

Adams argues that this volume had a profound influence on Wesley and played an important role in shaping the content of *Sacred Melody*: 'Not only were the tunes ones which Wesley felt should be included, but they were well edited hymns which the editor of [Sacred] M[elody] was able (when he wished to do so) to borrow without alteration.'<sup>52</sup> He lists twelve tunes that he claims were first published in this collection that Wesley uses in *Sacred Melody*.<sup>53</sup> However, Adams dates *Harmonia Sacra* later than *Divine Musical Miscellany*, the publication of which can be proved in 1754; more recent research has located advertisements for *Harmonia Sacra* in the same year, thus creating some ambiguity as to which volume appeared first.<sup>54</sup> Even if *Divine Musical Miscellany* was the earlier publication and thus the original source for these tunes, detailed investigation reveals that *Harmonia Sacra* exerted a more direct influence on Wesley even in the case of these twelve tunes. However, the general influence of Whitefield's collection remains important, as it reflects a common corpus of tunes across various groups associated with the movement.

All eleven of the tunes included in the first edition of *Sacred Melody* were previously published in both *Divine Musical Miscellany* and *Harmonia Sacra*, sometimes in slightly different versions.<sup>55</sup> Where such differences occur, *Sacred Melody* always uses the version of the melody published in *Harmonia Sacra*; furthermore, in seven

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<sup>52</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 128.

<sup>53</sup> One of these, MOURNER'S does not appear until the second edition of *Sacred Melody*, in a different version to that in both *Divine Musical Miscellany* and *Harmonia Sacra*. The importance of this tune will be discussed below.

<sup>54</sup> On *Divine Musical Miscellany*, the *Hymn Tune Index* notes 'Adv. Scots Magazine, May 1754. For use with George Whitefield's *Hymns for Social Worship*, . . . Design'd for the use of the Tabernacle congregation, in London (London, 1753). Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Source #DMM. Regarding *Harmonia Sacra*, the evidence is more circumstantial: 'Adv. in a cat. of John Johnson (GB-Lbl: Hirsch IV.1111.(9)) which must date from 1754 from internal evidence.' Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Source ButtTHSa.

<sup>55</sup> In these cases, the *Hymn Tune Index* lists the version in *Divine Musical Miscellany* as the original version, and the *Harmonia Sacra* version as the revision, due to the uncertain dating of the latter.

cases, *Sacred Melody* uses the same text as *Harmonia Sacra* and the titles of seven of the tunes are either copied exactly or altered slightly from this volume. There is only one instance of such correlation with *Divine Musical Miscellany*, and even here, the version printed in *Sacred Melody* is taken from *Harmonia Sacra*, which makes minor alterations to the melody, title and text. The textual aspect may be readily explained by the theological differences between Wesley and Whitefield; the latter's adherence to the doctrine of predestination exerted a strong influence on his selection of hymnody and this would have been irreconcilable with Wesley's Arminian theology, making it a necessity to provide new texts even if the tunes were deemed suitable.<sup>56</sup> Musically, though, both volumes are well edited and Whitefield's collection is laid out in a style closer to that preferred by Wesley, with no extra treble parts to distract from the melody.

Other than John Frederick Lampe, since identified as the composer of BUILTH, no composers are known for these tunes.<sup>57</sup> However, they all have characteristics found in many other tunes in the collection; flowing melodies, occasionally florid, with much use of motivic repetition, sequence and melismas. Several of the tunes are fairly straightforward examples of the style prevalent throughout much of the eighteenth-century material in the volume; MISS EDWIN'S, set to the text 'Let Earth and Heaven agree' maintains a balance between syllabic text setting and melismas, which occasionally extend to three or four notes in length. Step-wise movement

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<sup>56</sup> As noted above, Butts had strong connections with Wesley at the Foundery, so it is unsurprising that the texts in his collection reflect Wesley's theological position rather than Whitefield's.

<sup>57</sup> See Peterson, 'The Methodist Hymn Settings of John Frederick Lampe'. Adams also notes that Frost suggests that the tune COOKHAM may have originated in Arne's opera *Artaxerxes* as the song 'Water parted from the Sea', though this was not performed until 1762, making this an unlikely scenario. See Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 136., and Peter Holman and Todd Gilman, 'Arne, Thomas Augustine', in L. Macy (ed.), *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com/>>, accessed 05/09/07.



predominates, with occasional leaps at the start and end of phrases, which add emphasis and vitality. There is brief use of sequential material within phrases, as indicated, and the overall phrase structure and implied harmonic structure is simple, with phrases concluding with either perfect or imperfect cadences in the tonic key.<sup>58</sup>

Let Earth and Heaven a - gree, An - gels and men be join'd,  
9 To ce - le - brate, with me, The Sa - viour of Mank - kind;  
17 Ta - dore the all a - ton - ing Lamb,  
22 And bless the Sound of Je - su's Name.

Figure VIII-18: MISS EDWIN'S

Several other tunes follow a similar pattern and would have been most effective congregational melodies. These often appear only in Methodist sources and reflect strong reciprocal influences between Wesley, Whitefield and Butts. CARDIFF tune, described by Adams as ‘sturdy and solid’,<sup>59</sup> uses almost exclusively step-wise movement and a clear phrase structure to counterbalance its many short melismas and decorative notes. ALDRICH tune also has a very active melody, which combined with its predominantly step-wise movement enhances its musical interest and congregational effectiveness, while its leaps between phrases add considerable momentum, necessary in a long tune. Adams notes the popularity of this tune in Methodist publications throughout the century, arguing that ‘This tune points out the

<sup>58</sup> This tune contains on of the rare editorial errors in *Sacred Melody*; the final note, which should be a tonic G is in fact a supertonic A.

<sup>59</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 159.

significant debt that Methodist tune books and specifically Wesley’s tune books owe to the editors of D[ivine] M[usical Miscellany] and H[armonia] S[acra].<sup>60</sup>

Several other tunes make heavy use of a particular musical feature in an attempt to create interest and drama, in a manner not dissimilar to those tunes derived from secular or instrumental music. The tune WELLING includes several large melodic leaps that would make it difficult for congregational use. While leaps of a fourth or fifth, also used here, are found in many tunes, often to add momentum at the beginning of phrases, the larger intervals of sevenths and octaves are less common, but resemble the tunes derived from instrumental sources discussed above. The interval of a rising seventh in particular, found three times in the tune (see below) would pose a serious challenge to untrained singers, mainly due to its dissonance. While the tune has a regular structure and sufficient points of repetition to make it memorable, the melodic writing exhibits a poor understanding of the principles of composing effective congregational music.

The musical score for the hymn 'WELLING' is presented in three systems. The first system (measures 1-5) begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 3/2 time signature. The melody features a rising seventh interval from G4 to E5. The lyrics are: 'God of my Life whose gra - cious Power, Thro' var - ious Or turn'd a - side the fa - tal Hour, Or lift - ed'. The second system (measures 6-10) starts with a repeat sign and continues the melody. It includes a rising seventh interval from D4 to C5. The lyrics are: 'Deaths my Soul hath led, Or turn'd a - side the up my sink - ing Head.'. The third system (measures 11-15) continues the melody with another rising seventh interval from G4 to E5. The lyrics are: 'fa - tal Hour, Or lift - ed up my sink - ing Head.'. The score uses various musical notations including slurs, ties, and repeat signs to indicate phrasing and structure.

Figure VIII-19: WELLING

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. 138.



Other tunes such as ITALIAN and PURCEL’S<sup>61</sup> make heavy use of melismas, extending many syllables within each phrase. The text set to ITALIAN is in Long Metre, with the final line repeated, but the excessive use of melismas lengthens the tune to twenty-four bars, which although written in  $\text{c}$  time, uses crotchets as the basic note value. Although there is much use of melodic sequence and rhythmic repetition, the extent of the melismas impede the communication of the text. In particular, the first rendition of the final line of text extends the syllable ‘live’ across 14 notes, in a style described by Adams as ‘operatic’, possibly derived from an aria or song.<sup>62</sup> Such excessive embellishment limits the likelihood of accurately teaching this tune to a congregation and even if this were achieved, the textual communication is, at best, a secondary consideration after the melodic ornamentation.

O GOD, my GOD, my All Thou art,

Ere shines the Dawn of rising Day.

Thy sove-reign Light with in my Heart, Thine all in live -

ning, thine all in live - ning Power dis - play.

Figure VIII-20: ITALIAN

<sup>61</sup> Despite the title, no basis for the tune has been found in Henry Purcell’s compositions; the *Hymn Tune Index* merely suggests ‘Perhaps based on an unidentified work by Henry Purcell.’ Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 2208.

<sup>62</sup> Adams, ‘The Musical Sources for John Wesley’s Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes’, 91. He also suggests that this tune may have had an instrumental origin, due to the rests between phrases.

Although the use of melismas in PURCEL’S is generally less excessive than observed in ITALIAN, its final phrase uses longer melismas coupled with the strange practice of setting repeated syllables but not whole words, to very florid melodic passages. Here, the line ‘Grateful unceasing Sacrifice’ becomes ‘Grateful unceas, grateful unceasing Sacrifice’, with three long melismas. This practice, which Adams notes attracted much criticism,<sup>63</sup> would surely have placed emphasis on the complex music, thus detracting from the text and decreasing the effectiveness of the hymn as a whole.

Although bearing a different title and set to different texts in both *Divine Musical Miscellany* and *Harmonia Sacra*, Adams notes that ‘All our sources, no matter which text is set, use the rather ridiculous device of repeating syllables in the middle of a word.’<sup>64</sup>

O thou our Husband, Brother, Friend.

Be - hold a Cloud of Incense rise

The Prayers of Saints to Heav'n ascend, Grate - ful un -

ceas, grate - ful un - ceas - ing Sa - cri - fice.

Figure VIII-21: PURCEL'S

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. 129.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. 152.



## Tunes Originating in *Harmonia Sacra*

The first edition of *Sacred Melody* contains a further twelve tunes first published in *Harmonia Sacra*, but not included in *Divine Musical Miscellany*.<sup>65</sup> Apart from Lampe, no composers have been identified, though like the tunes discussed in relation to *Divine Musical Miscellany*, these bear typical characteristics of eighteenth-century psalm and hymn tunes. The titles and texts associated with these melodies re-emphasise the strong influence of *Harmonia Sacra* on Wesley's collection; many retain both the text and title from the earlier publication, while several retain the title but set a new text; others make only minor changes to both attributes.

Several of these tunes are in the florid style, reminiscent of operatic music, described earlier. Particularly notable is the length of some of these examples; ST PAUL'S is a Double Common Metre tune, without any repetition of musical phrases, which coupled with its ornate style, including decorative semiquavers and demisemiquavers, would be difficult for a congregation to sing accurately. ZOAR is characterised by several melismatic scalic passages and is a further example of the practice of repeating incomplete phrases of text; the last phrase becomes 'And the vast Fabrick, and the vast Fabrick still sustains.' The tune is less intricate than ST PAUL'S and is thus more practicable for congregational use, though its many melismas make its Long Metre structure into a lengthy tune. PALMI'S, meanwhile, is a shorter tune and also somewhat less ornate, with the exception of a long melisma on 'Stars' in the final phrase, stretching the syllable over 11 notes. YORK is a long tune with a strong cadential close to each of its regular phrases, but its frequent melismas and lack of

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<sup>65</sup> Two of these, WEDNESBURY and WOODS have been attributed to John Frederick Lampe (see Peterson, 'The Methodist Hymn Settings of John Frederick Lampe'). A further five tunes placed in the same category by Adams, discussed below, were included in the second edition of *Sacred Melody*.

melodic cohesion, as well as several awkward melodic leaps would have made it difficult for congregational use.

The most extreme example of these long, florid tunes is LEOMINSTER, which is structured in double verses of Double Long Metre, containing a total of sixteen musical phrases with no direct repetition. The tune has an extremely large range from c' to a'', spending much of its time in a high tessitura above c'', and contains numerous melodic leaps. There are also several chromatic alterations to pitches, which although within a clear harmonic framework, add to the complexity of the melody, while several phrases are highly melismatic. Although there is considerable use of sequences, these often extend to the highest parts of the range of the tune and are sometimes used in conjunction with implied harmonic modulations, thus negating any positive effect they may have in terms of its congregational suitability. Overall, this tune has unrealistic expectations of a congregation; its complex and ornate style, together with its considerable length suggest that it would be better suited to a soloist or musically skilled choir.



A - way my un - be - lieve - ing\_ Fear! Fear shall in\_ me\_ no\_ more take Place; my

5 Sa-viour doth not yet\_ ap - pear, He hides the\_ Bright- ness of his Face; But shall I there - fore

10 let\_ him go, And bare-ly\_ to the Temp-ter\_ yield; No, in\_ the\_ Strength of\_ Je - sus, no!\_ I

15 ne-ver will give up my Shield, Al-tho' the Vine its Fruit de - ny, Al-tho' the O - live yield no\_

20 Oil, The with'-ring Fig Tree droop and die, The Field ill - ude\_ the Till- er's\_ Toil, The emp - ty

25 Stall no Herd af - ford, and per - ish all\_ the Bleat - ing Race, Yet will I\_

29 Tri - umph\_ in the Lord, The God of my Sal<sup>3</sup> - va - tion Praise.

The musical score is written on a single staff in treble clef with a common time signature (C). The melody is composed of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some trills (tr) and a triplet (3) indicated. The lyrics are written below the staff, with line numbers 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, and 29 marking the beginning of each line of music.

Figure VIII-22: LEOMINSTER

Other tunes that originated in *Harmonia Sacra* are less florid and share many common features with other eighteenth-century tunes in the collection. While SPITTLEFIELDS is a lengthy tune containing many melismas, it has several characteristics that make it more suitable for congregational singing; its phrase structure is very clear, with much melodic and rhythmic repetition and sequence. Its range is confined to an octave, d' – d'', placing considerably fewer demands on untrained voices, while there is also a more even balance between passages at the higher and lower extremes of this range. Furthermore, decorative notes move largely by step, and the harmonic implications of the tune are simple, with only one modulation to the dominant.

Je - su, Thou art my Right - cous - ness, For all my Sins were thine,  
5 Thy Death hath bought of God my Peace, Thy Life hath made him mine.  
10 My dy - ing Sa - viour and my God, Foun - tain for Guilt and Sin,  
15 Sprin - kle me e - ver with thy Blood, And cleanse and keep me clean.

Figure VIII-23: SPITTLEFIELDS

While containing several melodic leaps, KETTLESBY balances these with longer passages that proceed entirely by step, with upward leaps always followed by downward steps. Also, many of the leaps operate in sequence and are confined to harmonically related pitches, which adds a degree of predictability, helpful in ensuring the congregational effectiveness of the melody. The implied harmonic structure is simple, with one passing modulation to the subdominant. The final phrase of text is repeated and the music for these two phrases is closely related, creating a sense of expectancy and momentum towards the conclusion of the tune.

Praise ye the Lord; Tis good to raise Our Hearts and Voi - ces in his Praise; His Na - ture  
10 and his Works in - vite, To make this Du - ty our De -  
16 light, To make this Du - ty our De - light.

Figure VIII-24: KETTLESBY



One tune in particular, SELF DEDICATION, is much simpler than the others taken from *Harmonia Sacra*, both melodically and structurally; Adams describes it as a ‘good, solid tune.’<sup>66</sup> Perhaps significantly, the text here is a doxology, ‘Father, Son and Holy Ghost’, for which a straightforward, robust tune may have been deemed more suitable than a lengthy, florid melody. Harmonically straightforward, with a largely regular rhythmic pattern and phrase structure, this tune convincingly portrays the sentiment of the text.

Fa - ther Son and Ho - ly Ghost, One in Three, and Three in One,

9 As by the ce - les - tial Host, Let thy Will on Earth be done:

17 Praise by all to thee be given, Glor - ious Lord of Earth and Heaven.

Figure VIII-25: SELF DEDICATION

These latter tunes are more suitable for congregational use and exhibit a balance between musical inventiveness to sustain interest and a sufficiently well-structured musical framework to allow them to be learned and repeated by congregations. Tunes such as LEOMINSTER strike this balance less successfully, though are clearly written within the same stylistic framework. It is clear that *Harmonia Sacra* was recognised as being indicative of the stylistic preferences and practices within Methodism and it is therefore unsurprising that Wesley approved the inclusion of a range of tunes from Butts’ collection in *Sacred Melody*. The varying suitability of these tunes for congregational use suggests that *Harmoina Sacra* was highly regarded as a measure

<sup>66</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 159.

of the musical capabilities of Methodism. Evidence of this attitude is also seen in the precise nature of the reproduction of these tunes in *Sacred Melody*, as noted by Adams: 'Wesley relied heavily upon H[armonia] S[acra] and used most of these tunes with no prior source almost exactly as he found them.'<sup>67</sup>

### ***Tunes First Printed in Sacred Melody***

In addition to the tunes first printed in *Sacred Melody* that Adams speculates are adaptations of instrumental pieces, he identifies a further nine tunes that first appeared in the collection, which he argues are specifically composed hymn tunes.<sup>68</sup> Of the six appearing in the first edition, John Frederick Lampe has since been identified as the composer of BACKSLIDER, but no composers are known for the remaining five tunes, though they are characteristic of the eighteenth-century compositional trends that dominate the collection. Significantly, only two of them became widely used in other hymnals after their initial publication; the *Hymn Tune Index* identifies 80 citations of BURSTAL between 1761 and 1820 and a total of 44 citations of SION. Of the other tunes, none was printed more than five times in total, and usually only in collections specifically associated with Methodist groups; STOCKTON was never printed in publications other than those specifically authorised by Wesley, while BACKSLIDER did not even survive beyond the second edition of *Sacred Melody*. It is also notable that none of these tunes appeared in later editions of *Harmonia Sacra*, despite its Methodist associations. This suggests that while these tunes bear a resemblance to contemporary compositions of the same genre, they lacked either the memorability to ensure longer-term success or suitable technical merit to warrant future use on purely musical grounds.

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid. 142.

<sup>68</sup> Three of these appear in the second edition, discussed below.



Musically, the tunes that had the most limited lifespan share several awkward features that help explain their apparent lack of success. The melody of DRYDEN'S is overly florid and spends much time in a high vocal tessitura, which would limit its effectiveness for a congregation. There is some awkwardness in the melodic writing, particularly in the fifth phrase, which ends with a descending leap from a'' to d'', with the d'' repeated three times, as indicated below. The length of the tune requires more points of melodic reference than exist within it, which combined with the lack of a regular rhythmic structure or phrase structure, would make this tune difficult for a congregation to learn.

The image displays a musical score for the tune 'DRYDEN'S'. It consists of three staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first staff begins with a common time signature (C) and contains the lyrics: 'Ye sim-ple Souls that stray, Far from ye Path of—Peace, That un-fre- quen- ted\_ Way, To'. The second staff starts with a measure rest labeled '7' and continues with: 'Life and\_ Hap- pi - nes; How long will\_ ye your Fol- ly love, And throng the down-ward'. The third staff starts with a measure rest labeled '12' and concludes with: 'Road, And hate the Wis- dom\_ from\_ a - bove, and\_ mock the\_ Sons of GOD!'. The melody is characterized by frequent eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together, and several leaps, including a notable descending leap at the end of the third staff.

Figure VIII-26: DRYDEN'S

Although less florid, STOCKTON contains several awkward melodic leaps and occasional incongruous decorative notes. STANTON, meanwhile, is a shorter and simpler tune, with some rhythmic awkwardness, including irregular beginnings to phrases. Adams comments that ‘It is a short, rather nondescript melody. The flow of the tune is interrupted several times by awkwardness.’<sup>69</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 145.

Even one of the two tunes that achieved more widespread publication is marked by some awkwardness; BURSTAL contains several incorrect word accents, suggesting erroneously placed barlines, one of the few editorial problems in *Sacred Melody*. The melody is somewhat disjointed and spends much time above c'', making it difficult for congregational use. Adams comments on these aspects in relation to the prevailing style of hymn tune found in the collection: 'Awkward leaps, two or more notes to one syllable and a generally active melody tend to identify it as an eighteenth century tune.'<sup>70</sup>



Figure VIII-27: BURSTAL

SION, which although not as prolific as BURSTAL, was published in a wide variety of sources, many related to Methodism, and is the best constructed of these tunes. Although it is a long tune, in Double Long Metre, its regular phrase structure and use of repeated rhythmic patterns create a sense of clarity and cohesion throughout. Furthermore, the tune is well-balanced melodically, both within phrases and between phrases, with ascending passages mirrored by descending motion and melodic leaps followed by step-wise movement. Balance is also achieved between syllabic text setting, which dominates, and occasional decorative notes with syllabic extension. The implied harmonic basis is clear, with one modulation to the dominant and clearly defined cadences. The continued popularity of this tune is surely due to its smooth,

<sup>70</sup> Ibid. 136.



flowing melody and its success in achieving musical interest while being easy for a congregation to learn.

A - way with our Sor - row and Fear, We soon shall re - cov - er our Home;  
7 The Ci - ty of Saints shall ap - pear, The Day of E - ter - ni - ty come;  
14 From Faith we shall quick - ly re - move And mount to our na - tive A - bode,  
21 The House of our Fa - ther a - bove; The Pa - lace of An - gels and GOD.

Figure VIII-28: SION

These tunes add little to the musical variety or quality of *Sacred Melody*, and the awkwardness that characterises them, together with minor editorial errors, gives further evidence of the debt owed to Butts’ *Harmonia Sacra*. The tunes are generally less well suited to their task than those copied from Butts’ collection, indicating that the musical editor of *Sacred Melody*, when working independently did not possess Butts’ editorial skills or musical sensibility.

Additions to the Second Edition

Although the second edition of *Sacred Melody*, published some four years after the first edition, contains only a small amount of additional material, it is highly important in tracing Wesley’s attitudes towards the use of music within Methodism. The additional material sets new precedents for the development of Methodist music and reflects a yet broader range of musical style and performance practices. The change it represents in Wesley’s attitude can be interpreted as an acknowledgement of these

broader musical preferences among his followers, which had hitherto been overlooked in both the *Foundery Collection* and the first edition of *Sacred Melody*.

Four of the tunes do not appear in any earlier publications and show some of the awkwardness noted in tunes from the same category in the first edition. While JERUSALEM is a short, simple tune with entirely syllabic text setting, musically it is somewhat unsatisfactory. The whole tune is derived from a simple ascending melodic passage that appears in the first bar; the remainder of the tune uses this in a simple ascending sequence before a slight alteration to the melodic pattern brings the tune to a close. This lack of development and variety results in a rather banal tune, with insufficient interesting features to make it memorable for a congregation. It is therefore unsurprising that this tune is only reprinted in two other publications after *Sacred Melody*.

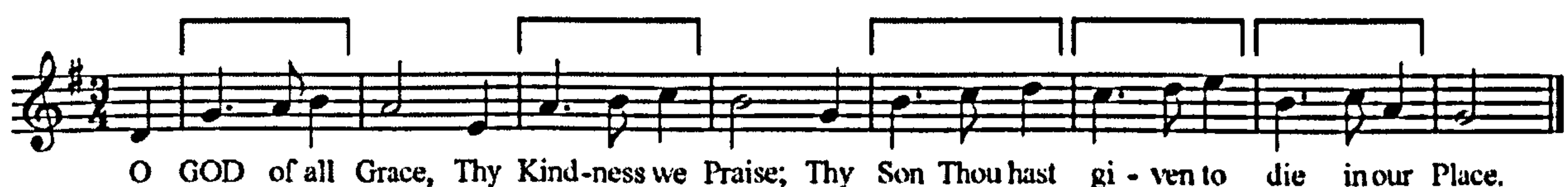


Figure VIII-29: JERUSALEM

THE TRAVELER'S is characterised by several sudden melodic leaps of sixths, sevenths and octaves and florid writing, resulting in a melody with considerable vitality but that would be difficult to use in a congregational context. It makes considerable use of short note values and its phrase structure is somewhat fluid, offering few reference points for a congregation. It was included in only one other publication after *Sacred Melody*. YORKSHIRE was included Thomas Knibb's *The Psalm Singers Help, being a Collection of Tunes, in three parts, that are now us'd in the churches, and dissenting*



*congregations, in London*, which was also first published c.1765. It is a short but ornate tune, with some awkwardness created by a rest placed mid-way through the third phrase, splitting the word 'always'. However, it has sufficient melodic variety and a balance between high and low passages and melismas and syllabic setting, which would make it a memorable tune for congregations to learn. It was reprinted in some 33 publications after *Sacred Melody*.

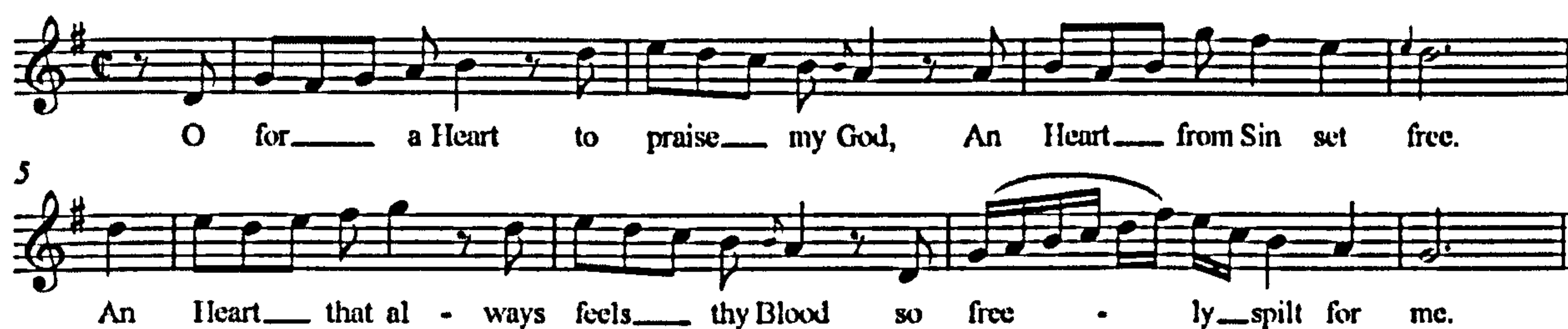


Figure VIII-30: YORKSHIRE

The tune COMPLAINT achieved much greater popularity and was printed in over 100 publications following its initial appearance in *Sacred Melody*. Butts includes it in the second edition of *Harmonia Sacra* (1767), though set to a different text. It is a highly melismatic tune, with many rapid scalar passages, which would have posed a challenge for untrained voices. It is reminiscent of numerous first edition tunes borrowed from *Harmonia Sacra*. The *Hymn Tune Index* notes that after Butts' first edition in 1754, 'A later ed. must have appeared in 1759–61, called 'aa' by Maurice Frost, Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland, *Bulletin*, 61 (1952), but no copy has been found.'<sup>71</sup> This raises the possibility of further collaboration between Butts and Wesley in the compilation of the second edition of *Sacred Melody* and may account for the coincidental appearance of this and five more of these tunes in both Wesley's 1765 edition and Butts' 1767 edition.

<sup>71</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Source ButtTHS a

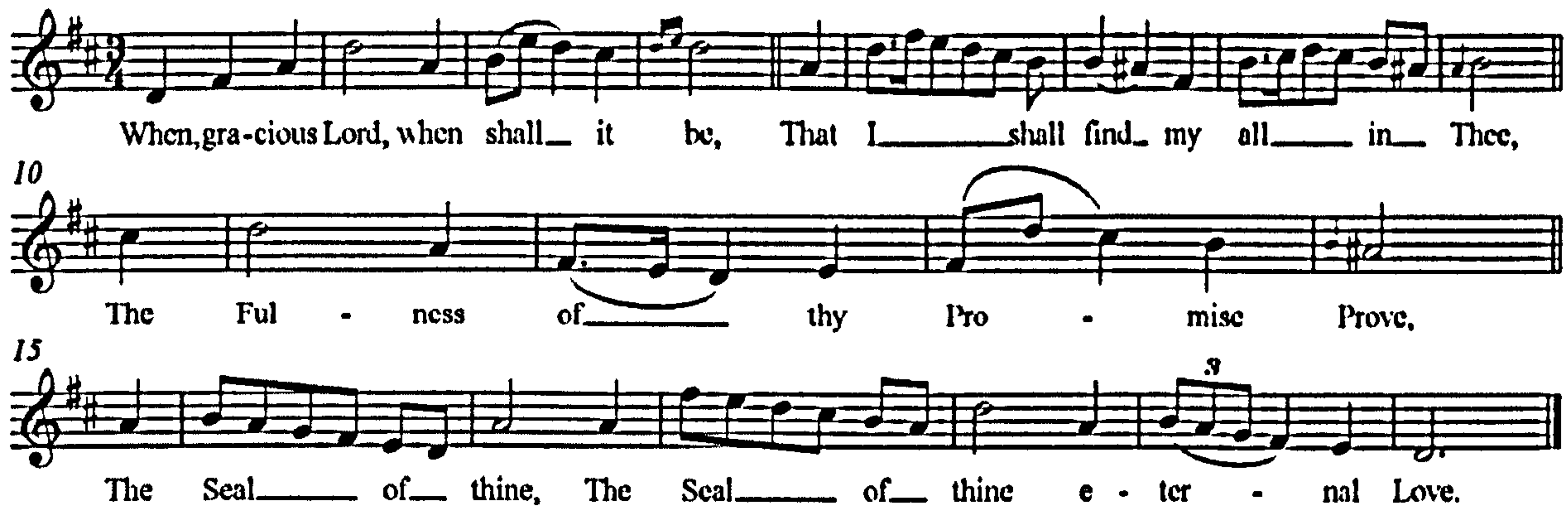


Figure VIII-31: COMPLAINT

Three tunes highlight a connection between Wesley and Martin Madan, principally through a collection of hymns associated with the Lock Hospital, *A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes*, published cumulatively in six volumes between c.1762-1769.<sup>72</sup> Following his conversion under Wesley's influence in 1750, Madan retained a connection to Methodism through the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, which embraced the Calvinistic theology typical of Whitefield and the Anglican Evangelical movement. The complete collection contains 45 tunes composed by Madan himself, who instituted a strong musical tradition in the hospital's chapel; Temperley describes the significance of these and other tunes in the collection, 'The tunes were mostly original, and broke new ground by their style and character. Most are duets for equal voices with continuo, in the fashionable *galant* taste, with trills and other graces and much dynamic variation.'<sup>73</sup> The three tunes taken from this collection by Wesley, two

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., Sources \*LHC A a, b, c. Madan was an Anglican priest who served as honorary chaplain to the Lock Hospital, and produced a hymnal in 1760, titled *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, which was used there until 1803. Temperley notes that it 'is regarded as the first comprehensive hymnbook of the Anglican Evangelicals. It was largely based on George Whitefield's *Hymns for Social Worship* (1753), and included hymns of a kind not then accepted for general Anglican use: of 171 in the first edition, 89 are by Charles Wesley and 44 by Isaac Watts. 'His subsequent collection of tunes drew its texts almost exclusively from this collection. Nicholas Temperley, 'Madan, Martin', in L. Macy (ed.), *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com/>>, accessed 05/09/07.

<sup>73</sup> Temperley, 'Madan, Martin'. Temperley also notes that Madan held weekly singing practices for the worshippers who attended from outside the hospital.



of which are by Madan himself, were originally set with a single melody line with bass rather than as duets, which is in keeping with the performance practice advocated by Wesley and typical of the type of borrowing from other sources in the first edition.

Again, Wesley reduces them to melody-line only. Madan set all three tunes to texts by Charles Wesley, but one of these, 'Love Divine, all loves excelling' had already been set to WESTMINSTER in the first edition of *Sacred Melody*, so Wesley substitutes the text 'Jesus, help thy fallen creature'. Madan's own tunes are typically florid but maintain a skilful balance between originality and congregational suitability.

OLIVERS'<sup>74</sup>, set to 'Lo! He comes with Clouds descending', balances numerous melodic leaps with step-wise passages and melismas with syllabic setting and contains many sequences within a clear phrase structure. The editor of *Sacred Melody* adds several extra decorative notes and transposes the melody up a perfect fourth from the original G major to C major, with the result that the melody extends to a'' and spends much of its time above c'', making it much more difficult for an untrained voice.

This surprising editorial decision, which has neither musical merit nor a practical explanation, is not replicated elsewhere in *Sacred Melody*. Otherwise, it is a memorable tune well suited to congregational use and with strong Methodist connections.

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<sup>74</sup> The tune is called HELMSLEY by Madan; this title seems to refer to Thomas Oliver, an associate of the Wesleys. Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 177.

Lo! He comes with Clouds descending Once for favour'd Sinners slain!

5  
Thou-sand, thou-sand Saints attending, Swell ye triumph of his Train;

9  
Hal-le-lu-jah, Hal-le-lu-jah, Hal-le-lu-jah, God appears, on Earth to reign.

Figure VIII-32: OLIVERS'

HOTHAM, set to 'Jesu, lover of my soul', is a highly florid melody but also exhibits the structural framework observed in OLIVERS' that make it suitable for congregational singing. ST PETER'S, although not composed by Madan himself, is in a similar style; the *Hymn Tune Index* notes that the tune is 'Probably based on a traditional Welsh carol or other popular tune.'<sup>75</sup> This direct connection with secular music is important in understanding the compositional style of Madan's own tunes, which bear similar characteristics. The tune contains many melismas, counterbalanced with syllabic setting within a strong structural framework. The rhythmic vitality and straightforward harmonic implications make it well suited for congregational singing.

<sup>75</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 2604a *Sacred Melody* includes a version with minor alterations, HTI Tune 2604c.





Figure VIII-33: ST PETER'S

The inclusion of these tunes from Madan's collection indicates Wesley's approval of this musical style, heavily influenced by secular music. In keeping with Lampe's compositional style, which had a strong presence in the first edition of *Sacred Melody*, these reflect contemporary musical trends and the inclusion of new material represents a desire to reaffirm the value of using music in a culturally familiar style as a means of engaging with congregations, and the necessity of keeping abreast of current compositional developments.

All of the other new tunes in the second edition had previously appeared in a variety of publications, some connected to Methodism while others were associated with the Church of England. CHIMES, which appears to be a heavily altered version of a tune by William Tans'ur, first appeared in the form used in *Sacred Melody* in Thomas Moore's *The Psalm-Singer's Delightful Pocket Companion* (Glasgow, c.1762), though it is given a new title and text by Wesley.<sup>76</sup> The florid melodic writing balances ascending and descending phrases, while there is much use of sequence,

<sup>76</sup> The first line of the tune is heavily altered from Tans'ur's original but thereafter bears a much closer resemblance.

particularly in the first and third phrases. Step-wise movement predominates and there is a clear and straightforward implied harmonic basis. In earlier publications, it was set to Isaac Watts’s paraphrase of Psalm 150, indicating that it was used as a metrical psalm tune despite its florid nature. Adams argues that this represents clear evidence of the cross-over between Methodist and Anglican attitudes towards church music: ‘It is an excellent example of a transitional style from strict metrical psalm tune to florid hymn tune. It is evidently acceptable to both Anglican and Methodist editors.’<sup>77</sup>

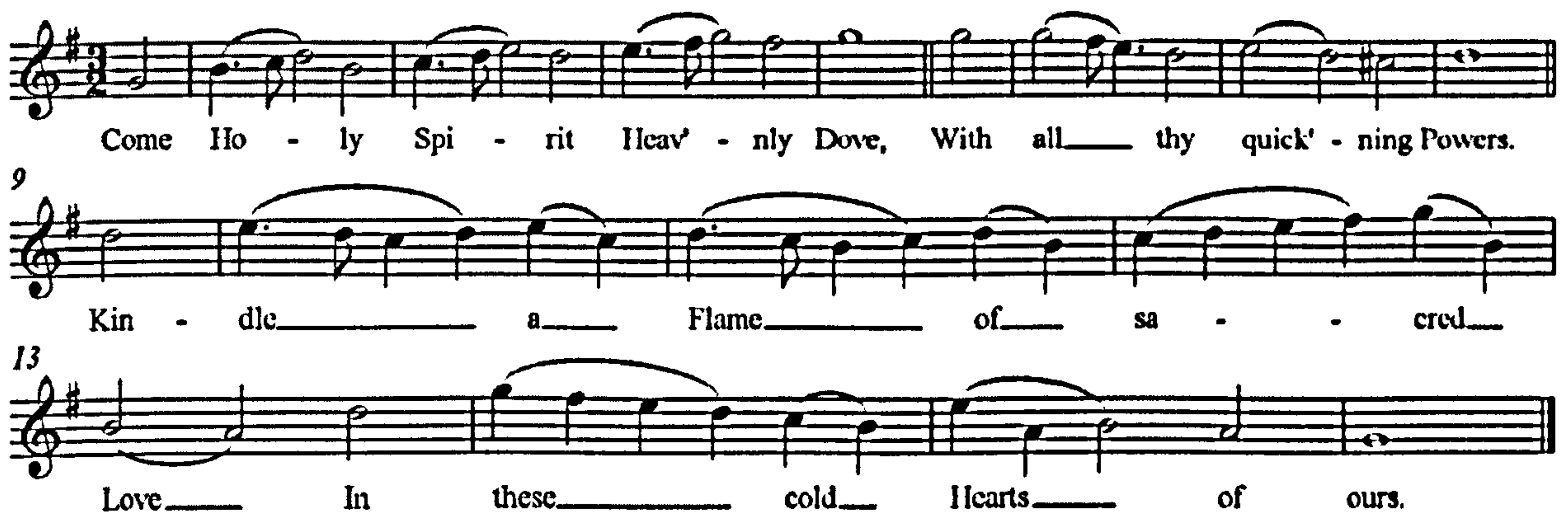


Figure VIII-34: CHIMES

CANTERBURY, first published in 1728, is also in a florid style with much syllabic extension, and was also included in the second edition of *Harmonia Sacra*, indicating that it was in common use among Methodist congregations. MANCHESTER had appeared in numerous publications since its first publication in Michael Beesly’s *A Collection of 20 New Psalm Tunes*, c.1746, which contained many fugging tunes.<sup>78</sup> It was originally written in four voices, with the tune in the tenor.<sup>79</sup> *Sacred Melody* was the first collection to publish the tune alone, although a homophonic version had

<sup>77</sup> Adams, 'The Musical Sources for John Wesley's Tune-Books: The Genealogy of 148 Tunes', 175.  
<sup>78</sup> For more details, see Nicholas Temperley, 'The Origins of the Fugging Tune', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 17 (1981), 1-32.  
<sup>79</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 1946a.



appeared in four parts as early as 1750.<sup>80</sup> It is a fairly florid tune, with the final phrase of text repeated and two long melismas, indicated below. It was originally associated with metrical version of Psalm 77, which echoes a similarly plaintive sentiment, illustrating that the editor of *Sacred Melody* was sufficiently astute to recognise associations between a tune and a textual sentiment and to apply this knowledge when setting new texts to pre-existing tunes.

O Lord, in - cline thy gra - cious Ear, My Plain - tive Sor - rows weigh,

To Thee for Suc - cour I draw near, To Thee I

hum - bly pray, To Thee I hum - bly pray.

Figure VIII-35: MANCHESTER

THE SHEPHERD OF ISRAEL is a further example of the Methodist practice of parodying both the text and music of a secular song; the *Hymn Tune Index* notes that the tune is ‘Based on the air ‘My fond shepherds of late’ from Thomas Arne’s opera *Eliza* (1754).’<sup>81</sup> It is an ornate tune, with many melodic leaps and rhythmic complexities and an expansive range that would make it difficult for congregational use. The last phrase in particular, which extends to a’’ and includes a variety of rhythmic patterns with short note values, betrays the tune’s origin as a solo song, and makes its transition to a congregational hymn tune somewhat awkward. However, the reasoning behind the tune’s inclusion is clear; it attempts to use familiar music and textual

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., Tune 1946b.  
<sup>81</sup> Ibid., Tune 2601a.

similarities to establish a cultural point of reference, which can be used to reinforce a theological message.

The image shows a musical score for a hymn titled 'The Shepherd of Israel'. It consists of four staves of music in treble clef, with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written below the notes. The first staff starts with measure 1 and ends with measure 8. The second staff starts with measure 8 and ends with measure 17. The third staff starts with measure 17 and ends with measure 22. The fourth staff starts with measure 22 and ends with measure 29. The lyrics are: 'Thou Shep-herd of Is - rael, and mine, The Joy and De - sire of my Heart, For clo - ser Com - mun - ion I pine, I long to re - side where Thou art; The Pas - ture I lan - guish to find Where all who their Shep - herd o - bey, Are fed on thy Bo - som thy Bo - som re - clin'd, Are skreen'd from the Heat of the Day.' There are some musical markings like '3' and '3' above certain notes.

Figure VIII-36: THE SHEPHERD OF ISRAEL

While these additional tunes primarily supplement the stylistic framework established in the first edition of *Sacred Melody*, the final addition to the second edition, CHESHUNT, marks a significant new direction in musical style, practice and understanding. Rather than conforming to the basic style of a common melody for each verse or double verse of text, it is a through-composed setting of a metrical text, ‘The Voice of my Beloved sounds’, a style of composition usually referred to as a ‘Set-Piece’.<sup>82</sup> The music is considerably more complex and decorative than the hymn tunes found in the collection and although it is printed in the same manner, with just a melody line, it seems unlikely that this could have been intended for congregational use. The melody, adapted from a popular song by Henry Holcombe, had been included in *Harmonia Sacra*, indicating that it was already in use in Methodist circles.

<sup>82</sup> Richard Crawford notes that this was ‘A term sometimes used in 18th- and 19th-century Anglo-American sacred music to denote a through-composed setting of a metrical text.’ He states that it was in use in England from the early eighteenth century. Richard Crawford, ‘Set-Piece’, in L. Macy (ed.), *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com/>>, accessed 05/09/07.



Wesley's authorisation of it for inclusion in *Sacred Melody* established a precedent for this broader variety of music, which was to become more evident in his later collection of tunes, *Sacred Harmony*. Commenting on the inclusion of this set-piece and others in *Sacred Harmony*, Young suggests that they reflect Wesley's acknowledgement of contemporary musical practices and tastes within Methodism: 'Wesley had apparently been forced to include them because of the popularity of the village singing groups and their influence on the singing practice of local Methodist societies.'<sup>83</sup>

This tune and subsequent additions to this genre demonstrate that there was a greater breadth of performance practice within Methodism than Wesley had sought to cater for in either the *Foundery Collection* or the first edition of *Sacred Melody*. This is of considerable significance in understanding the relationship between Wesley's views and the preferences of Methodists more widely. However, this aspect of Methodist music will be considered hereafter, following discussion of the specific set-pieces and Wesley's views on music. The present focus is restricted to the individual musical characteristics of CHESHUNT. The text is somewhat different in nature from the typically theological style found elsewhere in the collection. It has no explicitly religious element, though is clearly intended as song of praise for the comfort provided by faith:

The Voice of my Beloved sounds,  
While o'er the Mountain Tops he bounds;  
He flies exulting o'er the Hills,  
And all my Soul, with Transport fills.

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<sup>83</sup> Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 71.

Gently doth He chide my Stay,  
Rise my Love and come away.

Although not contrary to religious sentiments, it has no innate value in expressing Methodist theological ideals. Temperley notes that it was ‘adapted from a popular song’.<sup>84</sup> Its musical characteristics provide clear evidence of this, as the florid melodic writing, excessive melismas, intricate rhythms and contrasting sectional structure combine to make the music rather than the text the most interesting feature. It is completely unlike any of the hymn tunes found elsewhere in the collection and is considerably more complex than even the most florid tunes by contemporary composers such as Lampe. The overall structure of the music and text is in a simple ternary pattern, ABA, though the recapitulation of A is truncated and there is some musical and textual repetition within sections.<sup>85</sup> Each section is marked by a change in time signature and mode:

Section	A	B	A
Time Signature	2/4	3/8	2/4
Key	Dm – F – Dm	F	Dm – F

Table VIII-2: Changes of time and mode in CHIESHUNT

Harmonically, the music is simple; the only changes of key are those shown in Table 2, above. The melodic writing implies only perfect and imperfect cadences in these keys and apart from a very brief implied passing modulation to C major in the final phrase of a<sup>1</sup>, the music remains firmly in the tonic key throughout. This harmonic simplicity is further evidence of the tune’s secular origin, as the combination of a complex melody with simple harmony is contrary to many of the hymn tunes in the

<sup>84</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* 213.  
<sup>85</sup> Only the first half of section A is used in the recapitulation. The last two phrases of both sections are repeated.



collection taken from sacred sources, which have simpler melodies but create interest through a more developed harmonic vocabulary. The melodic writing in section A is characterised by many decorative passages, such as scales or turn-like figures in short note-values set to a single syllable, and pairs of quavers, often in groups with suspensions or notes of anticipation. The first phrase of the second half of section A contains examples of both of these common figurations:



Figure VIII-37: CHESHUNT, bars 16-20

The change to 3/8 for section B and the resulting lilting quality of the music clearly reflects the corresponding section of the text: ‘Gently doth He chide my Stay/Rise my Love and come away.’ Never are more than two syllables set in a single bar of music, while the most common syllabic rhythm is one syllable extended over the first two quavers and a second syllable on the final quaver of the bar. Most of the cadences in this section are feminine, which adds to the gentle nature of the music, again reflecting the text. The third phrase of music in section B contains an extraordinarily long melisma, with the word ‘come’ extended over 6 full bars and ending on the first beat of the seventh bar of the phrase. Each beat in the six bars has the same rhythmic and intervallic patterns of a dotted semiquaver rising by step to a demisemiquaver; the pitch of these notes changes every bar in an overall ascending sequence:

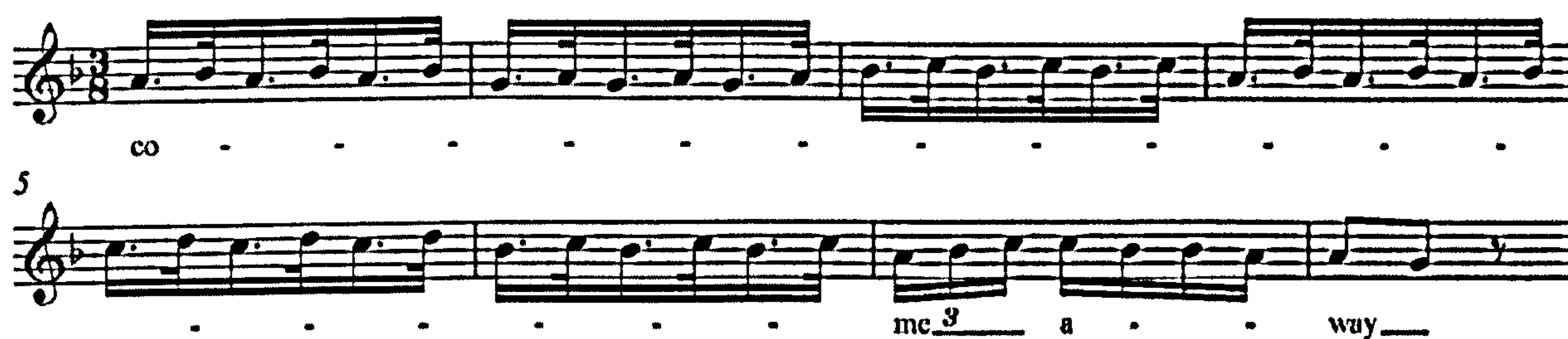


Figure VIII-38: CHESHUNT, bars 49-56

Further ornaments in this section include triplet figures and occasional trills, which contribute to the gracefulness of the melodic writing. The melodic contours are well balanced, with most phrases rising to a central peak before descending to the cadence point.

The range of the melody is fairly large, spanning d' to g'' and much of section A is towards the upper end of this range, which would place a strain on untrained voices. Although it ostensibly has several features in common with other congregational hymn tunes, such as repetitive elements, a clear structure and a clear harmonic framework, the sheer length of the tune alone makes it unsuitable for congregational use. While there is no indication that this tune should be used in a different way from the others contained in the collection, the musical and textual characteristics discussed and the fact that it is appended as the final item in the expanded edition of *Sacred Melody* suggest that it was included for its popularity as a choral piece and not for general congregational use.

Musically, only CHESHUNT reveals any new developments in the musical practice of the eighteenth-century Methodists. The texts of the other additions are in keeping with the theological and doctrinal standards evinced in the first edition, dealing with particular aspects of the believer's Christian experience. With the exception of the



important questions raised by the inclusion of a set-piece anthem, the only significance of these additions is in assessing the popularity of the various musical styles found in the earlier edition. As the new hymns fit within the stylistic and theological parameters established by the first edition, it seems likely that they were included for reasons of popularity. As noted, the musically most successful additions are the lengthy, decorative tunes such as those connected with Martin Madan. These follow the song-like, melody-dominated writing of many of the tunes in the first edition, notably those by Lampe. Notably, there are no extra tunes of the German chorale or older English psalm-tune types; the additions are in a contemporary idiom, typified by florid, flowing melodies. CHESHUNT can be seen as extending this principle to its logical conclusion, and these additional tunes provide a clear indication that Methodist congregations favoured tunes that bore a stylistic resemblance to contemporary secular songs.

## **Summary**

The superior quality of *Sacred Melody* enhanced its ability to further Methodism's message in a more effective way than the *Foundery Collection* was able to. The clearly-edited unison setting of all the tunes in *Sacred Melody* represents a concerted effort to ensure that they could be easily taught and learned in the societies and that there would be no divisiveness among the congregation on the basis of musical skill or knowledge, exhibiting the inclusive nature of congregational song. This complex issue was comprehensively addressed by Wesley in his later essay 'Thoughts on the Power of Music' discussed above, in which he cites the affective qualities of ancient, melody-driven compositions as the standard to which all music should aspire.

As noted in the above discussion of specific tunes, a key factor in their congregational suitability was a clear sense of structure and direction. Many of the tunes in *Sacred Melody*, irrespective of their style or provenance, exhibit these characteristics, which were frequently impeded by poor editorial practice in the *Foundery Collection*.

Clearly-defined phrases together with a strong sense of implied harmony succeeded in giving reference points that would have promoted accurate and unified singing among the congregation. Elements of rhythmic, melodic and structural predictability would increase confidence among the gathered members, even if they did not possess particular musical knowledge or skill. Thus they would be encouraged to participate and to feel affirmed in belonging to a religious community, reflecting both the corporate and corporeal aspects of congregational song.

Thus in the breadth of its contents, both musical and textual, its musical format and clear editing, *Sacred Melody* can be seen to embody Methodist theological and doctrinal ideals. Although some of these principles were in evidence in the selection of tunes found in the *Foundery Collection*, the superior musical and editorial quality as well as the increased breadth of *Sacred Melody* meant that these ideals could be expressed more effectively and to a wider cross-section of society. In combining traditional musical forms with tunes composed in a more contemporary idiom, a balance was struck that emphasised Methodism's religious heritage, drawing on aspects of Anglican and Moravian practices, while also reflecting its individual social and cultural ethos in response to the communities in which it flourished in eighteenth-century Britain. Rack notes this responsive trend as a general feature of Wesley's approach to matters of Methodist organisation and structure, which can be clearly observed in his attempt to compile a relevant and attractive collection of hymns in



*Sacred Melody* while ensuring that they met with his theological and doctrinal standards:

With all his inconsistencies he ultimately viewed the church in a highly pragmatic manner.

The priorities are right doctrine and right practice. No ecclesiastical arrangements have been laid down by divine *fiat* in the New Testament as binding on future generations: they are to be improvised as the exigencies of mission dictate.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* 250.

## IX. Settings by Battishill and Handel<sup>1</sup>

This case study examines original settings by Jonathan Battishill and George Frederic Handel of hymn texts by Charles Wesley. The prominent place that Handel occupied within British musical life and his enduring influence throughout the eighteenth century is well documented. Although his popular reputation has often rested on his religious oratorios, his musical style and versatility identify him as the most dominant composer of art music in eighteenth-century Britain, as noted by Anthony Hicks: 'his reputation from his death to the early 20th century rested largely on the knowledge of a small number of orchestral works and oratorios, *Messiah* in particular. In fact, he contributed to every musical genre current in his time, both vocal and instrumental.'<sup>2</sup> Although a less significant figure in terms of compositional output and influence, Jonathan Battishill (1738-1801) nonetheless occupied a prominent place in London as a church musician, performer, and composer of vocal, choral and keyboard music.

### ***Battishill, Handel and the Relationship between Methodism and Art Music***

None of the tunes by Battishill or Handel entered into wide circulation within eighteenth-century Methodism; as such, they cannot be regarded as having had a formative influence on Methodist musical preferences and practices. Instead, the main interest lies in Methodism's role in bringing these tunes into existence. There was direct contact between Charles Wesley and Battishill, and indirect contact between the Wesleys and Handel through contacts such as Priscilla Rich, which indicates that Methodist hymnody was known in such artistic circles.

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix E for full bibliographic details of all tunes.

<sup>2</sup> Anthony Hicks, 'Handel [Händel, Hendel], George Frideric [Georg Friederich]', in L. Macy (ed.), *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com/>>, accessed 05/09/07.



Despite these close connections, it seems unlikely that either of these composers wrote their settings as a result of a personal religious commitment to Methodism, as had been the case with Lampe's tunes. Despite being employed by various London churches, there is no evidence concerning the presence or absence of any particular religious convictions on the part of Battishill, whose actions do not reflect the values promoted by Methodism or the Church of England. As well as alcohol-related problems, after the failure of his marriage and his wife's departure to live with an actor, 'From about 1775 Battishill himself apparently lived with a woman who, on his death, called herself Ann Battishill.'<sup>3</sup> Although his hymn settings date from the period in which he was married and when he began employment in the church, his subsequent actions together with the lack of any reference by the Wesleys to his religious inclinations suggest that this collection arose from his personal acquaintance with Charles Wesley rather than any desire to align himself with Methodism and its theological principles.

Handel, conversely, exhibits a religious awareness and understanding in many of his works, which Donald Burrows links to his upbringing and education in Germany. He argues that these factors had a profound influence on Handel's sensitivity in text setting and skill in matching the mood of the text with appropriate music.

What seems certain, however, is that he had his own ideas about the materials that would result in effective musical setting, and that he had a good working knowledge of biblical texts.

In addition to the experiences from his schooling and early church posts in Halle, we must assume considerable early influence from the Lutheran pastors on his mother's side of his

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<sup>3</sup> Peter Ward Jones, 'Battishill, Jonathan', *Ibid.*

family, which may have been even more significant in the period following his father's death.

Long before he came to London, therefore, he probably knew well not only his Bible, but also the outlook and behaviour of professional clergy.<sup>4</sup>

Handel's primary religious involvement in his early years in London came through the Chapel Royal, with personal contacts such as Priscilla Rich providing a link between his more usual work within the theatre and the broader religious community. Burrows notes the importance of such contacts: 'Handel's English church music involved him with a different network of professional, social, and political relationships from that relating to the theatre companies...'.<sup>5</sup> Despite this, there is no evidence of any personal affiliation between Handel and Methodism and no record of him meeting the Wesleys, while Ruth Smith notes that 'There is little common ground between the doctrinal principles of Wesleyan Methodism of this period and the substance of the oratorio texts.'<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, she identifies no connections between the religious feelings engendered by Methodism and the oratorios. Using *Theodora* as an exemplar, she argues that Methodism's emphasis on new birth and assurance is absent from the oratorio's libretto, while events such as conversions are dealt with in less personal terms, resulting either from precept or example. According to Smith, the oratorio librettos generally provide a less personalised form of religious engagement, in marked contrast to the emphasis on personal salvation in so many of Charles Wesley's hymns:

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<sup>4</sup> Donald Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* (Oxford Studies in British Church Music, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 7-8.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. [1].

<sup>6</sup> Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorio Librettos and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 355. Although Christological doctrine is obviously absent from the Old Testament oratorios, Smith notes an emphasis on Israel as God's chosen people rather than the process of redemption. Likewise, she observes that 'Two signal elements in the theology of early Methodism are notably absent from *Messiah*: a sense of individual worthlessness or sin, and a concept of judgement in which the sinner is consigned to hell.' See Smith, *Handel's Oratorio Librettos and Eighteenth-Century Thought* 356-57.



The expressions of religious feeling in *Theodora* are common to all the 'sacred' oratorio librettos and are the normal elevated expressions of contemporary religious verse, conveying warm, generalised religious excitement – a world apart from the personal, individual, highly dramatic terms of Charles Wesley's hymns.<sup>7</sup>

While Methodism provided a link between the theatrical and religious communities, H.C. Robbins Landon suggests that Handel's oratorios attracted a following among a rather different middle-class clientele: 'If opera was largely supported by the aristocracy, oratorio was on the whole the province of the rapidly growing middle class, whose puritanism was in stark contrast to the generally profligate nobility.'<sup>8</sup>

These circumstances suggest that it would be inaccurate to extrapolate any theological significance from these hymn settings. Both collections seem to have been private endeavours and their musical style coupled with their very limited circulation indicates that they were written primarily for musical rather than spiritual purposes, resulting from Methodism's emergence among the London's musically sophisticated theatrical community.

Given Methodism's rapid development among the newly-emerging industrial communities, this close association with London's fashionable musical elite is somewhat incongruous. Examination of John and Charles Wesley's comments on musical performances and works indicate that they were familiar with a musical repertoire that would have been far removed from the cultural experience of many of their early followers. Charles Wesley's appreciated Handel's music, while one of the

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<sup>7</sup> Smith, *Handel's Oratorio Librettos and Eighteenth-Century Thought* 358-59.

<sup>8</sup> H. C. Robbins Landon, *Handel and His World* (London: Flamingo, 1992) 216.

few favourable comments on music in John Wesley's diary concerns a performance of *Messiah*. He acknowledges the deep impression, presumably of a religious nature, that this had on those present, and suggests that he was surprised by its effectiveness in communicating with the audience:

[Bristol, Thursday, August 17, 1758] I went to the cathedral to hear Mr Handel's *Messiah*. I doubt if that congregation was ever so serious at a sermon as they were during this performance. In many parts, especially some of the choruses, it exceeded my expectations.<sup>9</sup>

Charles Wesley's family life brought him into contact with many notable musicians and patrons of the arts, principally through the family concerts held in his home. Alyson McLamore notes that the audiences for these concerts extended beyond the confines of Methodism and attracted the attention of the aristocracy and London's musical elite:

It seems clear that the clientele at the performances were not merely an extension of Charles snr.'s Methodist supporters, although some ministers and Methodist-leaning aristocracy – such as the Earl of Dartmouth – did number among the audience. There is certainly reason to believe that many of the listeners were simply music-lovers.<sup>10</sup>

Carlton Young argues that Charles's contact with such prominent figures helped to shape his conservative views on art music and his preference for the works of composers such as Purcell and Handel: 'These attendees, and others, a mixture of musicians, royalty, church and political figures, probably influenced and may have

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<sup>9</sup> Cited in Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 96.

<sup>10</sup> Alyson McLamore, "'By the Will and Order of Providence': The Wesley Family Concerts, 1779-1787", *RMA Research Chronicle*, 37 (2004), 71-220, 107.



deepened Charles' essentially conservative if not counter-cultural views on music and musicians as seen in his poems and epigrams.'<sup>11</sup>

Both John and Charles record negative comments about performances of modern music and popular performance practices observed while preaching in various locations. After attending a performance of *Judith* in 1764, John Wesley acknowledged that some parts of it were 'exceeding fine', but complained that

there are two things in all modern pieces of music which I could never reconcile to common sense. One is singing the same words ten times over; the other, singing different words by different persons, at one and the same time.<sup>12</sup>

As well as criticising these aspects of modern composition in art music, he also condemns such practices among local congregations. Commenting on a service at Warrington in 1781, he is critical of both the manner of singing and the style of music:

The service was at the usual hours. I came just in time to put a stop to a bad custom, which was creeping in here; a few men, who had fine voices, sang a psalm which no one knew, in a tune fit for an opera, wherein three, four, or five persons sang different words at the same

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<sup>11</sup> Carlton R. Young, 'The Musical Charles Wesley', in Kenneth G.C. Newport and Ted A. Campbell (eds.), *Charles Wesley: Life, Literature and Legacy* (Peterborough: Epworth Press, 2007), 414-45, 421. Samuel Wesley noted that his father 'was partial to the old masters: Purcell, Corelli, Geminiani, Handel; and among the English Church composers, Croft, Blow, Boyce, Green, &c. were favourite authors with him. Cited in Young, 'The Musical Charles Wesley', 415. Charles's witty poems on 'Modern Music' and 'The Pianoforte' as well as his verses commemorating Handel and Lampe attest to these opinions.

<sup>12</sup> Wednesday, February 29, 1764, cited in Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 96.

time! What an insult upon common sense! What a burlesque upon public worship! No custom can excuse such a mixture such a mixture of profaneness and absurdity.<sup>13</sup>

Charles Wesley, meanwhile, defended his decision to give his sons a formal musical education and to promote their family concerts, implicitly deriding the wider, secular musical culture; his first reason for allowing these concerts was 'To keep them out of harm's way; the way (I mean) of bad music and bad musicians, who by a free communication with them might corrupt both their taste and their morals.'<sup>14</sup> On modern compositional trends, his poem 'Modern Music' is critical of the superficiality of music by composers such as Giardini and J.C. Bach:

G, B, and all  
Their followers, great and small,  
Have cut Old Music's throat,  
And mangled every Note;  
Their superficial pains  
have dash'd out all his brains:  
And now we doat upon  
A lifeless sceleton,  
The empty sound at most,  
The Squeak of Music's Ghost.<sup>15</sup>

These comments illustrate that the Wesley brothers adopted a largely conservative attitude towards music and exhibited a preference for traditional forms of art music rather than more popular forms of contemporary music. In terms of contemporary music, they were most influenced by the work of composers such as Lampe and

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<sup>13</sup> Warrington, Sunday, April 8, 1781, cited in Ibid. 97.

<sup>14</sup> Cited in Young, 'The Musical Charles Wesley', 418.

<sup>15</sup> Cited in Ibid., 421.



Handel, who were clearly situated within the musically sophisticated culture of London's theatrical community. Although Methodism flourished in several areas where such music would have been commonplace, including London, Newcastle and Bristol, the wide social cross-section evident within the movement indicates that such music would not have been culturally familiar to many of its early followers.

The settings by these two composers offer a further insight into the relationships between Methodism, art music and church music. Although they did not achieve widespread circulation during the eighteenth century, they nonetheless reveal evidence of the extent of Methodism's cultural engagement and prevalence among the musical elite of eighteenth-century London.

### ***Jonathan Battishill, Twelve Hymns, The Words by Revd. Mr Charles Wesley (c.1765)***

These tunes were published as an engraved collection at Battishill's instigation and can be dated approximately as 1765.<sup>16</sup> The volume advertises the composer's dramatic work *Almena*, which was premiered at Drury Lane on 2 November 1764 and published in 1765.<sup>17</sup> Although published around fifteen years before John Wesley's final collection of hymn tunes, none of Battishill's tunes were adopted by Wesley and only four of the twelve tunes were subsequently reprinted in other publications.<sup>18</sup> The hymns as complete entities of text and music had an even more limited lifespan; the texts set by Battishill are retained in only three instances, one of which was associated

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<sup>16</sup> The publication details on the title page do not give a precise date: 'London: For the author by C. and S. Thompson.'

<sup>17</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Source BattJTH. Peter Ward Jones, 'Battishill, Jonathan', in L. Macy (ed.), *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com/>>, accessed 05/09/07.

<sup>18</sup> Of the four hymns that were reprinted, none of them appeared more than four times subsequently. Some of the publications that included these tunes may have been printed by the same firm (Battishill's collection is by C and S Thompson, while later publications are by Messrs. Thompson and SA and P Thompson).

the Charity School movement. The tune to HYMN X was reprinted in William Green's *A Companion to the Countess of Huntingdon's Hymns*, which establishes a further Methodist connection.<sup>19</sup> While the tunes were not printed in any books specifically associated with the Wesleys, their inclusion in this early nineteenth century volume suggests that they were known in Methodist circles.

In order to assess their musical qualities, some discussion of Battishill's musical background and more general compositional style is necessary. His musical career encompassed both the church and the theatre; his church appointments date from the same time as this collection of hymns, as noted by Peter Ward Jones, 'In 1764 Battishill was appointed organist of the united parishes of St Clement Eastcheap and St Martin Orgar, and in 1767 of Christ Church, Newgate Street, holding both posts until his death.'<sup>20</sup> By this time, he had also established himself as a performer; Betty Matthews notes that by 1764 he 'already occupied the position of harpsichordist at Covent Garden.'<sup>21</sup> Ward Jones states that 'Most of Battishill's compositions date from the period 1760–75, and reflect his many-sided activities during this time.'<sup>22</sup> His main operatic work, *Almena*, advertised on the cover of the collection of hymns, did not achieve great success, apparently due to dramatic rather than musical failings.<sup>23</sup> His most enduring composition was his seven-part anthem *Call to Remembrance*, 'with its fine command of the old full style of writing and effective suspensions'.<sup>24</sup> Thus his compositional output reflects both contemporary trends and older models.

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<sup>19</sup> This substantial volume contained 362 tunes and was produced c.1808. See Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Source GreeWCC a.

<sup>20</sup> Ward Jones, 'Battishill, Jonathan'. He was also briefly Boyce's assistant at the Chapel Royal, though his well-documented drink problems curtailed this appointment.

<sup>21</sup> Betty Matthews, 'The Rise and Fall of Jonathan Battishill', *The Musical Times*, 133/1795 (September 1992), 477-79.

<sup>22</sup> Ward Jones, 'Battishill, Jonathan'.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.



His work as a theatre composer placed him at the forefront of contemporary musical culture, while his songs and glees were also popular; Matthews notes that 'In the 1770s he won many prizes for his glees'. As a church composer, several of his anthems reflect the older, multi-voice imitative style. As a performer, he achieved success as a singer and organist, and was a noted improviser and interpreter of keyboard works:

In addition to his extempore playing, his performances of Handel's keyboard works were highly regarded, and his memory, both musical and otherwise, was reputed to have been exceptional, as shown by the occasion on which he played and sang from memory to Samuel Arnold several airs from the latter's oratorio *The Prodigal Son*, which he had not heard for 20 years.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to his musical career, Battishill is known to have been widely read in many subjects and amassed a considerable private library. J.B Trend reprints R.J.S. Stevens's account of Battishill's life and work, in which it is noted that 'He retained the fondness for reading which had so early shown itself, and little as one should have expected it from him, he actually had read more *Theology* than most men.'<sup>26</sup>

## **Battishill and the Wesley Family**

Battishill was seemingly well-acquainted with both Charles Wesley and his two sons, Charles junior and Samuel; Matthews notes that 'He had known the Wesley family since the younger Samuel and his brother Charles were boys, and had taken part in

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> J.B. Trend, 'Jonathan Battishill: From the Unpublished Recollection of R.J.S. Stevens', *Music and Letters*, XIII/3 1932), 264-71, 267. Ward Jones notes that Battishill's library extended to some 6000-7000 volumes. Ward Jones, 'Battishill, Jonathan'.

concerts at their home.’<sup>27</sup> These concerts took place at the family home in Chesterfield Street, Marylebone, and regularly featured older works together with compositions by the younger Wesley brothers and their associates. These were designed to promote the prodigious talents of the brothers in an environment that met with their father’s approval. Philip Olleson describes the nature of these events:

In 1779 the two brothers began to give subscription concerts at the family home, where there was a large room with two organs and a harpsichord. The concerts included instrumental and vocal solos, duets, and orchestral pieces played by a small professional ensemble; they attracted fashionable audiences numbering sometimes over 50, and continued for nine seasons, the last being in 1787.<sup>28</sup>

Accounts from both Samuel Wesley and Stevens indicate that Charles Wesley approved of Battishill’s music and his library; Stevens comments that ‘Samuel Wesley’s father, who was a good classical scholar, having called upon Battishill at Islington, where he then lived, in order to see his library, told his Son Samuel Wesley that the Selection of Books was made with the greatest taste and judgement.’<sup>29</sup> Matthews cites a comment from Samuel Wesley that reflects both his own admiration and that of his father:

‘Among the first rate musicians I have been acquainted with may be justly reckoned the late Jonathan Battishill, to whom my dear Father was very partial, and who composed a valuable set of beautiful Tunes to sundry of his hymns – His talents were versatile, as he excelled in the Church, Chamber and Theatrical Style.’<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Matthews, 'The Rise and Fall of Jonathan Battishill', 478.

<sup>28</sup> Philip Olleson, 'Wesley: (4) Samuel Wesley', in L. Macy (ed.), *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com/>>, accessed 05/09/07.

<sup>29</sup> Trend, 'Jonathan Battishill: From the Unpublished Recollection of R.J.S. Stevens', 267.

<sup>30</sup> Cited in Matthews, 'The Rise and Fall of Jonathan Battishill', 478.



Samuel also acknowledged Battishill's skill as an organist, using it as a favourable comparison for his own brother's style: 'His [Charles junior's] style on the Organ was particularly close and neat somewhat similar to that of Jonathan Battishill.'<sup>31</sup> Thus Battishill's musical skill and active interest in theology provided common areas of interest with Charles Wesley and his sons. Although the circumstances surrounding the composition and publication of the hymn tunes is not known, it seems likely that they were the fruit of his direct contact with Charles, presumably some time before the Wesley Family Concerts.<sup>32</sup>

### **The Texts and Tunes of Battishill's *Twelve Hymns***

Carlton Young notes that the texts are all taken from Charles Wesley's 1749 collection *Hymns and Sacred Poems*,<sup>33</sup> while Samuel Wesley's description of them as 'sundry' texts is apt, as none of them appeared in any of the tune books specifically associated with the Wesleys, before or after Battishill's collection.<sup>34</sup> Four of the hymns have specific headings, which indicate that they would not have been widely or frequently used in the normal course of church services or society meetings. Two respond to the itinerant nature of the early Methodist ministry; HYMN III is headed 'For a Minister at his Departure' while HYMN VIII bears the title 'For a Minister

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<sup>31</sup> Cited in Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Carlton Young notes that Battishill's collection of tunes has been 'dated ca.1779, in Frank Baker's Union Catalogue.' Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 172. This date has presumably been surmised due to Battishill's known connection with the concerts, which began in that year. However, the reference to 'The Favourite Songs in the Opera of Almena', published in 1765, together with documentary evidence that 'From the mid-1770s Battishill's compositional activity declined' due to his alcoholism suggests that the earlier date is more accurate. Ward Jones, 'Battishill, Jonathan'.

<sup>33</sup> Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 171.

<sup>34</sup> The *Hymn Tune Index* also reveals that none of the texts were included in other prominent eighteenth-century Methodist publications such as *Harmonia Sacra* or *Divine Musical Miscellany*. Furthermore, only five of the tunes were printed in collections other than Battishill's in the period covered by the database, and none more than 10 times. See Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Source BattJTH.

coming to a Place.’ HYMN V, meanwhile, suggests a close affinity between Battishill and Charles Wesley, as it is entitled ‘Epitaph on Mrs Susanna Wesley’ and is the only recorded musical setting of this text.<sup>35</sup> HYMN VI is headed ‘For a Family’, which implies a more domestic use.

Battishill’s tunes share some common stylistic qualities with Lampe’s settings; they are decorative, soloistic melodies with figured, flowing bass lines. Carlton Young notes that ‘Battishill’s settings are highly ornamented melodies, presumably for a trained singer, with figured bass accompaniment.’<sup>36</sup> As well as the figured bass, two of the settings include more substantial evidence of the sophisticated performance practice intended by Battishill.

HYMN I includes a short instrumental passage in which full chords are provided in the treble clef while the bass is unfigured. This section is labelled ‘Ritornell’ implying that it was intended to be played at the conclusion of each of the four verses rather than merely as a postlude to the whole hymn. It is entirely original, bearing no melodic similarity to any of the phrases within the verse and includes written out suspensions and decorative figures. The verse itself is less ornate than several others in the collection; its predominantly step-wise motion is largely in crotchets, with simple ornaments on longer notes and at cadential points. Its range is confined to a ninth, f#’ – g’’, but although this is not atypical of congregational hymns in Wesley’s own collections, several phrases are in a consistently high tessitura, demonstrating that a trained voice would be needed to sing this tune effectively. Battishill also employs the common practice of repeating the final two lines of each verse, using the

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., Text ISASHT1.

<sup>36</sup> Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 172.



simpler method of repeating text and music rather than providing a more elaborate musical setting for the second statement of the text, in the manner of Lampe. The figured bass instructions are conventional, observing various suspensions in the melody and occasionally giving very full, detailed instructions, while the bass line itself is characterised by much stepwise movement, with some chromatic alteration. Battishill's harmonic vocabulary also indicates a degree of musical sophistication uncommon in standard congregational tunes; although his use of harmonic formulae is conventional, the harmonic directions are bold. Rather than adopting a conventional modulation to the dominant at the half-way stage, Battishill modulates to B minor; initially, he appears to use B major as the dominant chord of the relative minor, but the figures in bars 15-16 indicate a strong modulation to B minor. Following this, he uses a diminished chord and chromatic alteration of the bass line in order to reach the dominant, D major, before returning to the tonic in the final phrase.

The image displays a musical score for a hymn, identified as Hymn I. It is written for voice and piano in the key of D major (indicated by two sharps) and 12/8 time. The score is divided into four systems, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The lyrics are: "O God thy Right - eous - ness we own, Judg - ment is at thy House be - gun, With hum - ble Awe thy Rod we bear, And guilt - y in thy Sight ap - pear, We can - not in thy Judg - ment stand, But sink be - neath thy migh - ty Hand." The piano accompaniment features a complex, symphony-style instrumental opening and a brief codetta. The score includes various musical notations such as treble and bass clefs, key signatures, time signatures, notes, rests, and ornaments (trills). Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the notes. The system numbers 7, 14, and 21 are marked at the beginning of their respective systems.

Figure IX-1: *Twelve Hymns*, HYMN I

HYMN XI is the most elaborate in the collection; as well as a highly ornamented melody line, it includes a symphony-style instrumental opening and a brief codetta, similar in style to the ‘Symphonies’ found in many contemporary anthems. These are written principally in two treble parts moving largely in parallel thirds and sixths. The symphony is loosely based on the opening vocal phrase but is elaborated and extended. Set in 12/8, it makes much use of the rhythmic figure dotted quaver-semiquaver-quaver, with one instance of imitation in this pattern. The codetta is a simple scale over a tonic pedal, with the upper voice ascending to e’’, an octave above the final note of the vocal melody. The bass line is extremely active and has much detailed figuring throughout. The ‘symphony’ first exhibits the common feature of contrary motion scale patterns between the treble voices and bass, beginning with an



overall descent from e' to e before a long rising scale from G# to b, which sets up a strong perfect cadence in the tonic before the verse begins.

This setting resembles a solo song much more than a traditional hymn tune; although there are clear cadence points at the ends of melodic phrases and rests in between phrases, the bass line continues through the rests, creating a seamless composition. The exceptionally active and agile bass line also indicates that this is a song for performance by a competent soloist and accompanist rather than a congregational hymn. It is more active than Lampe's bass lines and has a considerable degree of independence, especially between phrases and under long notes in the melody (bars 11 and 13-14). Occasional rests in the bass part also emphasise the solo-song character of the music, particularly in bar 18, in which all attention is directed towards the soloist singing a long, high melisma before the accompaniment rejoins for the final cadence. Bar 10 implies that the accompanist was expected to continue playing independently in the treble register between phrases, as although there are rests in the bass part, there is a brief interjection in the treble clef between the two vocal phrases, which accounts for a discrepancy in the metrical structure of the text. Although ostensibly in the regular metrical pattern 6.6.6.6.8.6.8.6., the first verse has a shorter fifth line of just five syllables, 'I weep, and languish'; Battishill's three un-texted notes before this are necessary to fit in the full text of subsequent verses.<sup>37</sup> The harmonic language is extremely rich in this setting, which also illustrates that it was written with skilled musicians in mind. The bass line and figuring contain and imply numerous suspensions in various parts, while inverted chords dominate. The rate at which chords change, often on at least two of the three quavers within each beat,

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<sup>37</sup> Although there are sufficient extra notes to account for the extra syllables it is unclear how Battishill intended this line to work, as the rhythmic structure results in incorrect accents on less important syllables in later verses, e.g. 'Or must I thus forever cry'.

implies a steady tempo; combined with the long, ornamented melodic phrases, this creates a graceful and elegant composition, responding effectively to the sentiments and richness of the text:

Again my mournful Sighs,

Prevent the rising Morn,

Again my wishful Eyes,

Look out for His Return;

I weep, and languish,

And long my Lord to find,

But wake alas! to all the Grief,

And Load I left behind.

Battishill repeats several lines of the text, most notably in the second half of the verse, where the ascending sequences emphasise first the yearning of the soul then its grief.

Wesley's text is highly emotive, dwelling on the restlessness and sorrow of the believer and their unworthiness and desperate need for salvation in the first four verses before finally reaching the goal of holiness in the final verse, which is rich with typically Wesleyan imagery and language:

Come, then, and shew thine Art,

Physician most Divine,

Bind up my Broken Heart,

Pour in thy Oil and Wine,

Into my Heart thy Spirit pour

Of Love, and Joy, and Peace,

To perfect Health my Soul restore,

To perfect Holiness.



The subtleties of Battishill's musical language result in a highly affective setting. Both text and music are far removed from the typical style of congregational hymnody; instead, this is an intimate, emotional piece more suited to a more private devotional context.

The image displays a musical score for Hymn XI, consisting of a piano accompaniment and a vocal melody. The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 12/8 time. It is divided into systems, with measure numbers 4, 7, 10, 13, 16, and 19 indicated at the beginning of each system. The piano part features a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the right hand and a more active bass line in the left hand, often including trills (tr) and grace notes. The vocal melody is written in a single staff, with lyrics placed below the notes. The lyrics are: "A - gain my mourn - ful Sighs, — Pre - vent the ris - ing Morn, A - gain my wish - ful Eyes, Look out for His Re - turn: a - gain my wish - ful Eyes — look out for His re - turn: I weep, — and lan - guish, And long my Lord to find, and long my Lord to find, and long — my Lord to find, But wake a - last to all the Grief, but wake a - last to all the Grief, and Load I left — be - hind, — and Load I left — be - hind." The score includes various musical notations such as trills, grace notes, and slurs. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the notes. The piece concludes with a final cadence in the piano part.

Figure IX-2: *Twelve Hymns*, HYMN XI



Although all of Battishill’s tunes have song-like elements, they are not all as complex as HYMN XI. For example, HYMN III, ‘For a Minister at his Departure’ is considerably simpler, with minimal ornamentation and predominantly syllabic text setting, largely using minims and crotchets. The harmonic language is also simpler, with fewer suspensions and more conventional modulations. These factors are perhaps attributable to the intended function of the text; although, as noted earlier, its specific function would have restricted its use, the occasions on which it could have been used would almost certainly have been public. Battishill’s is the only known setting of this text, which does not fall into the category of private devotion, so there may have been some attempt to reconcile his compositional style with the musical limitations associated with congregational singing. Nonetheless, the range extends to g’’ and the fourth phrase is in a consistently high register, as are long passages in the fifth and sixth phrases. Despite its relative melodic and harmonic simplicity, these factors would have limited its congregational effectiveness.

The image displays a musical score for a hymn, identified as HYMN III, 'For a Minister at his Departure'. The score is written for a single melodic line, likely for a voice or a simple instrument, using a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The time signature is not explicitly shown but appears to be common time (C). The lyrics are written below the notes, and the music is divided into three systems, each starting with a measure number (8, 16, and 24). The lyrics are: 'Forth in thy Name, O Je - sus, send The Man we to thy Grace com mend, Our Faith - ful Mi - ni - ster se - cure, And make him to the Day en dure, When all thy Flock shall meet in One Tri - umph - ant round thy Glo - rious Throne.' The notation includes various note values (minims, crotchets) and rests, with some notes beamed together. The score is presented in a clear, legible format, suitable for a printed music book.

Figure IX-3: *Twelve Hymns*, HYMN III

This collection of tunes highlights a composer at the height of his powers; as noted, the tunes probably date from Battishill's most fruitful period of composition and reflect the influences of other genres such as opera in which he was composing in the 1760s. His keyboard music, though not published until after his death, illustrates similar characteristics. His short 'Air' exhibits the linear bass writing and graceful melodic writing noted above:



Figure IX-4: Battishill, 'Air', bars 1-16<sup>38</sup>

As Battishill's tunes were never included in more widely-used Methodist collections in the eighteenth century, they cannot be upheld as influential on the music of the movement as a whole. However, their primary significance lies in the cultural interaction they highlight between Methodism and the musical elite of London and the impact that Methodism had on such circles. The same considerations apply to Handel's tunes, which will be discussed in detail before the full significance of the relationship between the Methodist movement and the works of these composers is analysed and interpreted.

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<sup>38</sup> Caleb Henry Trevor (ed.), *Old English Organ Music for Manuals*, Vol. 1, 6 vols. (London, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966) 9.



### ***Three Settings by Handel***

Handel's settings of three texts by Charles Wesley represent a fascinating vignette in early Methodist history and the work of the most famous and influential composer in eighteenth-century Britain. Although never published in the eighteenth century, these tunes are highly significant in understanding Methodism's place within eighteenth-century musical life. In his facsimile edition, Donald Burrows describes them as 'an interesting footnote to the lives of two of the most influential characters in eighteenth-century England.'<sup>39</sup> All three tunes were found on a single sheet of manuscript paper in the Fitzwilliam collection, Cambridge, by Samuel Wesley, in 1826. The precise circumstances and date of their composition remains unknown while their subsequent history is unexplained; Burrows comments that 'We do not know how or why these manuscripts became detached from the main body of Handel's autographs, which passed via John Christopher Smith senior and junior to King George III, and thus eventually into the ownership of the British Museum (now the British Library)...'.<sup>40</sup>

In attempting to establish the provenance of the tunes, Burrows argues that they were composed in 1746-7, using the manuscript paper and the texts as evidence. He notes that the paper is of the type used by Handel at this time<sup>41</sup> while the immediate source of the texts allows a stronger claim to be made. Handel almost certainly used Lampe's *Hymns on the Great Festivals and Other Occasions* (1746) as the source for these texts; all three appear in that volume under the same headings as used by Handel, 'The Invitation', 'Desiring to Love' and 'On the Resurrection'. Burrows

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<sup>39</sup> George Frideric Handel and Donald Burrows, *The Complete Hymns and Chorales: Facsimile Edition with an Introduction by Donald Burrows* (London and Sevenoaks: Novello, 1988) 2.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Burrows cites the watermark and stave-ruling as evidence. He also argues that although Handel may have used a spare sheet of this paper at a later date, 'such usage does not seem to have been his general habit.' Ibid. 2, 6 n10.

notes a vital difference between the titles used by Lampe in 1746 and Wesley, in *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (1749), for the first of these hymns: 'Clinching evidence comes with the title 'The Invitation', which is specific to *Hymns on the Great Festivals*: Wesley's manuscripts and the 1749 verse publication entitle the hymn instead with a quotation from Luke 14 V.17, 'Come, for all things are now ready'.<sup>42</sup>

Given the inclusion of adaptations of secular tunes by Handel in the *Foundery Collection*, *Sacred Melody*, and *Sacred Harmony*, it seems unlikely that these original tunes would have been omitted from these collections if they had been known to the Wesley family. This conjecture is supported by Burrows's description of Charles Wesley's growing appreciation of Handel and his music in the second half of the eighteenth century. During the musical development of his two sons, Charles junior and Samuel, Handel's music became a feature of the musical life of the Wesley family, leading Charles senior to 'confront – and apparently accept – the authoritative status of Handel's music.'<sup>43</sup> Alyson McLamore notes the prominent position that he gave to Handel's music in the second season of the family concerts:

In the second proposal [1780], Charles snr. divided the proposed repertory into three categories:

1. That of Handel, Corelli, Scarlatti, & Geminiani:
2. The most Excellent of a later date:
3. Their own; consisting of Overtures, Concerto's, Quartetto's, Trio's, Duets (particularly for 2 organs), Sonatas, Solos, Extempore lessons on the Harps'd & Voluntaries on the Organ.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid. 2.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. 4.

<sup>44</sup> McLamore, "'By the Will and Order of Providence': The Wesley Family Concerts, 1779-1787", 82.



Burrows argues that this high opinion of Handel and his music would have led Charles Wesley to promote the use of these settings had he been aware of them:

As Wesley came to recognize Handel's status in English musical life, and perhaps even to appreciate his music a little, he would surely have sought out or made reference to Handel's settings of his hymns, had he known of their existence. There is no mention of these settings in his Journal or in his accounts of the lives of his children: we must assume that Wesley did not know of Handel's manuscript and never heard the hymns performed or, if he did hear them, that he had no knowledge of the composer's identity.<sup>45</sup>

Elsewhere, Burrows notes that 'Although no meeting between Handel and the Wesleys is documented',<sup>46</sup> the hymns are likely to have come about due to two intermediary figures; Lampe's own settings played an important role, as noted, while Priscilla Rich also provides another connection between composer and poet. As well as providing the connection between the Wesleys and Lampe, it is probable that Handel taught her step-daughters in this period;<sup>47</sup> Burrows surmises that 'Although Wesley had other close acquaintances from Handel's circle, the particular devotion of Mrs Rich to the Methodist cause leaves her as the most convincing candidate for the commissioner of these hymn settings.'<sup>48</sup>

## Musical Characteristics of Handel's Tunes

Handel sets three diverse texts, which demand markedly different musical responses: 'The Invitation' is an exhortation to all to respond to God's grace, the various facets of which are richly described in its ten verses; 'Desiring to Love' deals with the

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<sup>45</sup> Handel and Burrows, *The Complete Hymns and Chorales: Facsimile Edition with an Introduction by Donald Burrows* 4.

<sup>46</sup> Donald Burrows, *Handel* (Master Musicians, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) 294.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Handel and Burrows, *The Complete Hymns and Chorales: Facsimile Edition with an Introduction by Donald Burrows* 2.

response of the believer and the all-encompassing nature of God's love, while 'On the Resurrection' is a celebration of Jesus's resurrection and ascension that also looks forward to the second coming. All three of Handel's tunes are less decorative than many of the examples by Lampe and Battishill while still displaying characteristics of solo writing. Handel sets them with the melody in soprano C clef and a standard figured bass. John Wilson argues that while Lampe's tunes may have provided the impetus for Handel to write these three settings, they are highly individual settings, characteristic of Handel's compositional style, rather than closely following Lampe's models.

If he was in any doubt how to treat them [Wesley's texts], a glance at Lampe's settings would assure him that he could write as he pleased. He did, in fact, use a less decorated style than Lampe's, and a thoroughly Handelian one, with each setting sharply characterized.<sup>49</sup>

'The Invitation' is in G minor and is a largely syllabic setting. The tune occupies a small range, d' to e<sup>b</sup>'' with evenly balanced melodic contours within and between phrases. The first and fourth melodic phrases are internally well-balanced while the ascent of the second phrase is mirrored by the descent of the third phrase. Handel's figuring is simpler than either Battishill's or Lampe's and his harmonic language is straightforward. There is no full modulation to another key, though the end of the second phrase ends with an imperfect cadence in B<sup>b</sup> major. The third phrase exhibits a typically Handelian harmonic feature; a step-wise bass line with first inversion chords and two 7-6 progressions on the second and fourth beats. In his figured bass exercises, Handel includes a complete exercise on this progression. David Ledbetter

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<sup>49</sup> John Wilson, 'Handel's Tunes for Charles Wesley's Hymns: The Story Retold', *Hymn Society Bulletin*, 163/11/2 (May 1985), 32-37.



notes that Handel intended it to be used either as a decorative figure at a cadence or, as in this instance, in a descending scale, describing it as ‘in essence the decoration of a chain of parallel 6 chords’.<sup>50</sup> Such details provide the main decoration in this setting; only three syllables are extended in the whole verse. Overall, it is a somewhat austere setting; Wilson notes that ‘In mood, Handel has responded to the apparently stern words ‘Sinners, obey’ rather than to the warmly invitational sense of the hymn as a whole.’<sup>51</sup> Handel also includes a short postlude, consisting solely of a figured bass line. This is a common feature of all three settings and was likewise noted in Battishill’s collection of tunes; it suggests that these tunes were written with solo-song style in mind rather than the traditional congregational hymn format by emphasising that they were designed for artistic performance rather than regular corporate singing within a religious service. Burrows notes that ‘Handel’s postludes are apparently an original feature, derived neither from Lampe nor from the more general German models.’<sup>52</sup> However, he also suggests that there may have been some German precedent, citing Handel’s setting of the chorale *Jesu, meine Freude*, which includes a two-bar phrase after the conclusion of the verse.<sup>53</sup> Wilson describes the probable performance practice, which gives more indication of the musically sophisticated context of these tunes: ‘At the end of each melody the figured bass runs on, inviting the accompanist to improvise above it a postlude.’<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> George Frideric Handel and David Ledbetter, *Continuo Playing According to Handel: His Figured Bass Exercises* (Early Music Series, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) 22.

<sup>51</sup> Wilson, ‘Handel’s Tunes for Charles Wesley’s Hymns: The Story Retold’, 35.

<sup>52</sup> Handel and Burrows, *The Complete Hymns and Chorales: Facsimile Edition with an Introduction by Donald Burrows* 3.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Wilson, ‘Handel’s Tunes for Charles Wesley’s Hymns: The Story Retold’, 32.

**Figure IX-5: Handel, 'The Invitation'**

O Love Divine, how sweet Thou art!  
When shall I find my longing Heart  
All taken up by Thee?  
I thirst, I faint, and die, to prove  
The Greatness of redeeming Love,  
The Love of CHRIST to me.

The harmonic language is more varied than in ‘The Invitation’; starting in F major, Handel modulates to the dominant at the half-way point, while the second half of the tune includes a passing modulation to G minor before a stronger modulation to B<sup>b</sup> major and a return to the tonic, which is further reinforced by the postlude. This is partly necessitated by the longer verse; while ‘The Invitation’ is a standard four-line Long Metre text, the text here is in six-line verses in the pattern 8.8.6.8.8.6.,



demanding greater variety to sustain interest. Handel indicates that each half of the tune and the postlude are to be repeated, giving further evidence that these tunes were regarded as performance pieces, as such repetitions exceed those typically found in hymn tunes, which were usually confined to the final phrase or phrases.

O love di-vine, how sweet thou art, when shall I find my long-ing heart all  
ta-ken up by thee? I thirst, I faint, and die, to prove the  
great-ness of re-deem-ing love, the love of Christ to me.

Figure IX-6: Handel, 'Desiring to Love'

The final setting, ‘On the Resurrection’, has a strident, confident melody, responding to the triumphant nature of the text, with its bold refrain,

Lift up your Heart, lift up your Voice,  
Rejoice, again I say, rejoice.

Handel's setting is characterised by strong cadential phrases, a purposeful melody balancing predominantly step-wise movement in the verse with several bold leaps in the refrain, generally between pitches with a common harmonic basis, and a robust, straightforward harmonic accompaniment. The refrain includes a brief instrumental interjection between the two lines of text, with a strident dotted rhythmic figure that maintains momentum and purpose. Harmonically, there is a passing modulation to the dominant at the end of the first phrase, followed by a tonic cadence at the end of the second phrase, before the verse ends with a stronger modulation to the dominant, while the refrain is solidly within the tonic. The postlude likewise includes a passing modulation to the dominant. The only syllabic extension occurs when beats are subdivided into two quavers; otherwise, the setting is syllabic with a strong rhythmic drive, dominated by crotchets and dotted crotchet-quaver figures.



Re - joyce, the Lord is king, your Lord and king a - dore. Mor -

tals, give thanks, and sing, and tri - umph e - ver - more.

Lift up your heart, lift up your voice: re-joyce, a - gain I say re-joyce.

Figure IX-7: Handel, 'On the Resurrection'

Handel’s setting of this tune shows some influence of Lampe’s earlier setting of the same text. While in many respects Handel’s setting is markedly different from Lampe’s graceful setting, discussed above, there are certain commonalities in the melodic outlines.<sup>55</sup> Despite Lampe’s highly-ornamented version, the overall melodic contours are remarkably alike, while both settings are in D major and follow similar harmonic patterns. The third and fourth phrases of the verse offer the clearest illustration of these common features:

<sup>55</sup> Following the discovery of these tunes, Handel’s version almost entirely superseded Lampe’s setting in nineteenth- and twentieth-century collections. Handel’s setting responds to the dramatic elements of the text in a more declamatory fashion, resulting in a less ornamented tune, which has the additional benefit of being easier for congregational singing. Burrows suggests that this is the only instance in which the influence of Lampe’s tunes can be observed in Handel’s settings.

Mor - tals, give thanks, and sing, and tri - umph e - ver - more.

Figure IX-8: Handel, 'On the Resurrection', bars 4-8

Mor - tals, give thanks and sing, and tri - umph e - ver - more.

Figure IX-9: Lampe, HYMN VIII, bars 4-8

Burrows also notes a strong similarity between the opening of the refrain of this tune and Handel’s setting of ‘And he shall reign’ in his most famous composition, the ‘Hallelujah Chorus’, which is likewise a bold acclamation of praise:

Lift up your heart, lift up your voice:

Figure IX-10: Handel, 'On the Resurrection', bars 8-10

and he shall reign for e - ver and e - ver,

Figure IX-11: Handel, 'Hallelujah Chorus' from *Messiah*, bars 91-93

These musical features result in a highly successful tune that responds effectively to the celebratory nature of Wesley’s text and highlights Handel’s skill in both harmonic and melodic writing. These prominent features so frequently observed in his larger, more well-known works, are distilled here in miniature form with a rather different performance context in mind.



## ***Summary***

The tunes by Battishill and Handel are prime examples of a musical dichotomy within Methodism; although none of the tunes was officially recognised as authentically Methodist and did not enter into the movement's musical repertoire, they reflect Methodism's prominence among London's musically sophisticated community. The close connections between the Wesleys, these composers and the associated community are indicative of the general musical direction that Methodism, under the guidance of John Wesley in particular, took. The brothers' preferences resulted in collections of tunes that were dominated by conservative hymn tunes, largely drawn from pre-existing English and German sources, together with contemporary compositions influenced by sophisticated secular trends or actually adapted from secular compositions. Battishill's collection and Handel's three tunes can be seen as a predictable outcome of these preferences; music that combined Methodism's religious background, expressed in Charles Wesley's texts, with music by leading composers, familiar to both the leaders of the movement and a certain group of their followers.

**X.        *Sacred Harmony or A Choice Collection of  
Psalm and Hymn Tunes, in two or three  
parts, for the Voice, Harpsichord and  
Organ (1781)*<sup>1</sup>**

John Wesley's final collection of hymn tunes, commonly referred to as *Sacred Harmony*, was first published in 1781, with a second edition c.1790.<sup>2</sup> Richard Green notes that it was advertised on the cover of the *Arminian Magazine* in 1781, indicating that it was designed to reach a wide audience within Methodism.<sup>3</sup> It marks a significant development in the use and understanding of music in Methodist worship and continued to exert a strong influence on the movement in the nineteenth century. Although it does not represent a considerable shift in terms of repertoire from *Sacred Melody*, the musical format of the hymns in the book together with its close association with the seminal volume of hymn texts, *A Collection of Hymns, for the Use of the People Called Methodists* (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1780), reveal important shifts in editorial principles and the relationship between theological and doctrinal ideals and popular preferences in terms of musical style and performance practice. Carlton Young notes that most of the tunes are 'harmonized version of tunes in *Sacred Melody*...Wesley's final tune collection marks several important accommodations to the interests and abilities of Methodism's singers and the leaders of singing.'<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendices F and G for full bibliographic details of all tunes.

<sup>2</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Sources #SHCCPHa and #SHCCPHb.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Green, *The Works of John and Charles Wesley: A Bibliography: Containing an Exact Account of All the Publications Issued by the Brothers Wesley Arranged in Chronological Order, with a List of the Early Editions and Descriptive and Illustrative Notes* (London: C.H. Kelly, 1896). This suggests that it may have been first printed late in 1780; Green also notes that Whitefield's name appears on the second edition, which he claims dates it after 1789, when Whitefield took over as Book Steward. The *Hymn Tune Index* estimated dates of 1781 and 1790 will be used here.

<sup>4</sup> Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 78-79.



The first edition contains some 119 tunes, plus an extended set-piece anthem, all of which are scored in at least two parts, melody and bass. Seven tunes and the set-piece are written in three parts, two treble staves above a bass line; in the case of the tunes, two have the melody in the top part while the remaining five place the melody in the middle part. In this and other respects, the volume owes a considerable debt to Butts' *Harmonia Sacra*, as was also observed in *Sacred Melody*. Here, the influence needs to be understood not merely in terms of common repertoire, but also in the editorial styles and conventions adopted in the setting of harmonised tunes. As the final collection of tunes to be published under Wesley's guidance, consideration of the music of *Sacred Harmony* allows a full assessment of the music of Methodism under his leadership to be made, focussing on the underlying principles concerning repertoire choices and editorial and performance practices, Methodism's attempts at cultural engagement and evangelism through hymnody with people of different social, educational, and cultural backgrounds, and the shifts in emphasis reflected across the three volumes issued by Wesley.

The considerable changes in terms of musical layout and repertoire in *Sacred Harmony* have significant implications for Methodism's understanding of and approach to the use of music within worship and other corporate meetings. However, some reconciliation between these developments and the earlier evidence of Wesley's views is possible, particularly with regard to the hymn tunes. Despite the use of harmonised tunes, the actual melodies are in the same styles that dominated earlier publications, in particular *Sacred Melody*, which Wesley himself regarded as definitively Methodist. Baker and Beckerlegge indicate the close relationship

between *Sacred Melody* and *Sacred Harmony*, which emphasises that the tunes of the latter were still in accordance with Wesley's ideals, describing it as a 'revised and harmonized version' of the earlier collection.<sup>5</sup> The harmonisations are such that the melody is never obscured by the other parts; the two-part settings in particular are functional settings in which the bass line offers a standardised form of accompaniment, presumably to counteract localised variant versions that may have been less well aligned with Wesley's stipulations concerning melodic primacy. The three-part settings are less obviously reconcilable with this position but represent the best example of the pressures from both sides of the relationship between principles and practice; as with the two-part settings, the bass lines do not impinge upon the melodic clarity, while the additional treble parts offer an opportunity for greater musical variety, in response to practices that seem to have become commonplace within Methodism, as evinced by the layout of Butts' *Harmonia Sacra*.

The inclusion of set-pieces further reinforces this attitude towards music by responding to the musical talents and preferences present within Methodism while retaining only a thin connection to the theological principles that underpinned the selection of the tunes specifically for congregational use. Carlton Young notes that this seemingly inconsistent approach is in fact characteristic of Wesley's wider efforts to shape Methodism according to the circumstances of its members, 'Wesley's attempts to set standards for congregational song may appear arbitrary, inconsistent, and perhaps uninformed. These qualities, however, are consistent with his improvisatory managerial style whereby he guided the societies' witness and work.'<sup>6</sup> At one level, this approach is consistent with Methodist theology and doctrine in that

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<sup>5</sup> Hildebrandt, Beckerlegge, and Baker (eds.), *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* 772.

<sup>6</sup> Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 194.



it emphasises that the requirements for adherence to their form of Christianity were in no way linked to cultural background or education. While this most obviously manifested itself in the burgeoning of Methodist membership among the newly-emerging industrial communities, the presence of a musically-literate group within Methodism is indicated by these pieces.

### ***The Music of Sacred Harmony: Sources, Styles, Influences***

As with all of John Wesley's collections of music, metrical hymn tunes for congregational use dominate *Sacred Harmony*. The inclusion of a single set-piece anthem in the first edition and a further three in the second edition builds on a practice initially observed in the second edition of *Sacred Melody*. The high regard that John Wesley had for *Sacred Melody*, indicated in his preface to that volume, is clearly observed in the make-up of *Sacred Harmony*. It also reveals further evidence of the influence of Thomas Butts and successive editions of his *Harmonia Sacra*, not just in terms of musical layout, as mentioned above, but also with regard to additional repertoire. Likewise, the impact of other composers and compilers associated with Methodism, such as Thomas Knibb and Martin Madan can be observed. The *Hymn Tune Index* also lists four tunes that appeared as hymn tunes for the first time in this collection. Each of these facets of *Sacred Harmony* needs to be assessed in order to fully understand the collection's position within the musical life of Methodism.

### **'...preferable to all others': the Legacy of *Sacred Melody***

Wesley includes virtually all of the tunes from both editions of *Sacred Melody* in his final collection; of the 112 tunes in the second edition, 105 are also found in *Sacred Harmony*. The tune names used are almost all identical to those found in *Sacred Melody*; there are a few minor changes such as correcting LIVERPOOLE to LIVERPOOL,

while the only notable alteration is the use of EVESHAM instead of PURCELS/PURCEL'S as a title for the setting of 'O thou our husband, brother, friend'. The text remains the same across both editions of both collections, and the second edition of *Sacred Melody* restores the title PUCCELLS, which offers no insight into the earlier change.<sup>7</sup> The influence of the second edition of *Sacred Melody* is seen in the designation HAMILTON'S for the setting of 'Jesus drinks the bitter cup'; most sources, including *Harmonia Sacra* and the first edition of *Sacred Melody* label the tune CLARKE'S or CLARK'S, while the second edition of *Sacred Melody* is the first to use the title HAMBLETON'S, from which HAMILTON'S is clearly derived.<sup>8</sup> Wesley's assertion that the texts associated with *Sacred Melody* were 'some of the *best*' he had published is also borne out by the contents of *Sacred Harmony*; of the 105 tunes retained from *Sacred Melody*, 98 are set to exactly the same texts, while of the seven that differ, four are slightly different versions of the same basic text and only three are entirely different texts.<sup>9</sup> Most of the melodies are also the same forms as were used in *Sacred Melody*, albeit now in harmonised form. Seven tunes appear in different variants from those used in *Sacred Melody*, principally, though not exclusively, derived from *Harmonia Sacra*.<sup>10</sup> These factors make clear the close relationship of *Sacred Melody* and *Sacred Harmony*, suggesting that the latter needs to be understood as a descendent of the former rather than as a usurper. The similarity between the titles of the 1765 and 1781/90 collections gives further evidence of this; the change from 'melody' to 'harmony' is a reflection of the musical format of the respective

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<sup>7</sup> *Sacred Melody* was the first collection to connect this tune with Purcell, although no source has been identified within Purcell's works. Both Whitefield and Butts included the tune in their earlier collections, labelling it FUNERAL HYMN and RICHMOND respectively. See Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 2208.

<sup>8</sup> This anomaly is almost exclusively limited to the volumes cited; the other rare instances of Hamilton's are only found in volumes directly influenced by Wesley's collections. See *Ibid.*, Tune 2234.

<sup>9</sup> These changes are symptomatic of the influence of *Harmonia Sacra* on *Sacred Harmony* and will be discussed along with the other influences of that volume.

<sup>10</sup> Such variants will be discussed hereafter in relation to their sources.



collections, which are otherwise broadly the same in content, while the obvious similarity between the latter title and Butts' collection also gives evidence of that connection. This gives further indication that the primary importance of *Sacred Harmony* lies not in any major shifts in Wesley's views on suitable styles of hymn tune but in the relationship between popular performance practice and the underlying theological and doctrinal principles of Methodist hymnody.

### **Music Layout and Harmonic Characteristics: the Influence of *Harmonia Sacra* (i)**

As noted above, *Sacred Melody* was influenced in several ways by successive editions of Thomas Butts' *Harmonia Sacra*. Discussion of the stylistic variety of *Sacred Melody* highlighted how Wesley used Butts' collection as an indicator of the congregational suitability of different types of tunes; here, Butts' influence in shaping performance practice can be observed. However, as already illustrated, the majority of tunes in *Sacred Harmony* are two-part settings, which is a major difference from *Harmonia Sacra*, where all but three of the 162 tunes in the first edition are in three parts. However, later editions of Butts' collection are more varied; the second edition (1767) includes 17 unison settings and 17 two-part settings, although the majority of settings are still in three parts.<sup>11</sup> Although Whitefield's *Divine Musical Miscellany* included all its tunes in two-part settings in the manner commonly found in *Sacred Harmony*, the considerable discrepancies between the textual content of this and all Wesley's collections indicate that it did not exert a heavy influence. Furthermore, examination of the musical characteristics of selected tunes common to both collections reveals that Wesley used different harmonisations, while there is less

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<sup>11</sup> The same number of unison and two-part settings also appear in the third edition (1768), see Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Sources ButtTHS b and ButtTHS c.

correlation between the tune names in comparison to *Harmonia Sacra*. For example, Whitefield includes a tune labelled EVENING HYMN with the text ‘No farther go tonight’, while in *Sacred Harmony*, the same tune is labelled CHAPEL, with the text ‘O love divine, how sweet thou art’, in common with the original version in Lampe’s *Hymns on the Great Festivals*, as well as Butts’ collection and both editions of *Sacred Melody*. The harmonisation of the two settings also differs, while Wesley also omits repeats and retains fewer ornaments than Whitefield; there is also a printing error at the end of Wesley’s version, where the final note is misprinted:

The image displays a musical score for the hymn 'EVENING HYMN' from the *Divine Musical Miscellany*. The score is written for a single melodic line, likely for a voice or a single instrument, and is presented in three systems. The first system begins with the lyrics 'No far-ther go too. night but stay, Dear Sa-viour till the break of Day, Turn in dear Lord with'. The second system starts at measure 6 and includes the lyrics 'me. And in the mor - ning when I wake, Me in thy Arms my'. The third system starts at measure 10 and concludes with the lyrics 'Je - sus take, And I'll go on with thee, and I'll go on with thee.' The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and ornaments (marked 'tr'). The final note of the third system is misprinted, as noted in the text.

Figure X-1: EVENING HYMN from *Divine Musical Miscellany*



O love di-vine how sweet thou art! Whenshall I find my. long-ing heart, All ta - ken up with

6  
thee! I thirst I faint, and die to prove, The great-ness of re -

10  
deem - ing love, The love of Christ to me, The love of Christ to me.

The musical score is a two-part setting in G major, 4/4 time. It consists of three systems of music. The first system (measures 1-5) features a treble staff with a melody and a bass staff with a harmonic accompaniment. The second system (measures 6-9) continues the melody and accompaniment. The third system (measures 10-13) concludes the piece with a final phrase. The lyrics are written below the staves, with some words hyphenated across measures. A trill (tr) is indicated above the final note of the melody in the first system.

Figure X-2: CHAPEL from *Sacred Harmony*

Evidence of the influence of *Harmonia Sacra* can be observed in the harmonisation of other melodies; for instance, although Wesley only includes a two-part setting of AMSTERDAM, the title, text, melody and bass line are identical to Butts' version, except for the omission of the repeat marks over the final phrase. The second treble part, printed above the melody, has simply been omitted.

God of un - ex - am-pled Grace Re-deem-er of Man-kind, Mat-ter of e - ter-nal Praise We

in thy Pas - sion find; Still our choic - est Strains we bring, Still the joy - ful

Theme pur - sue Thee the Friend of Sin - ners sing Whose Love is ev - er new.

This musical score is for the hymn 'AMSTERDAM' from the collection *Harmonia Sacra*. It covers measures 1 through 21. The music is written for a three-part vocal setting (Soprano, Alto, and Tenor/Bass) in the key of D major (indicated by two sharps) and 2/4 time. The lyrics are: 'God of un - ex - am-pled Grace Re-deem-er of Man-kind, Mat-ter of e - ter-nal Praise We in thy Pas - sion find; Still our choic - est Strains we bring, Still the joy - ful theme pur - sue Thee the Friend of Sin - ners sing Whose Love is ev - er new.' The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the notes. Measure numbers 6, 12, and 21 are marked at the beginning of their respective systems. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat signs.

Figure X-3: AMSTERDAM from *Harmonia Sacra*

God of un - ex - ampl-ed grace, Re-deem-er of man-kind, Mat-ter of e - ter-nal praise We

in thy pass - ion find; Still our choic - est strains we bring, Still our joy - ful

theme pur - sue, Thee the friend of sin - ners sing, Whose love is e - ver new.

This musical score is for the hymn 'AMSTERDAM' from the collection *Sacred Harmony*. It covers measures 1 through 21. The music is written for a two-part vocal setting (Soprano and Alto/Tenor) in the key of D major (indicated by two sharps) and 2/4 time. The lyrics are: 'God of un - ex - ampl-ed grace, Re-deem-er of man-kind, Mat-ter of e - ter-nal praise We in thy pass - ion find; Still our choic - est strains we bring, Still our joy - ful theme pur - sue, Thee the friend of sin - ners sing, Whose love is e - ver new.' The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. Measure numbers 12 and 21 are marked at the beginning of their respective systems. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat signs.

Figure X-4: AMSTERDAM from *Sacred Harmony*



Other instances of textual and musical correlation also strengthen the connection between *Harmonia Sacra* and *Sacred Harmony*; for example, variants of the popular tune from *Lyra Davidica*, commonly associated with Easter, are included in all of Wesley's collections as well as those of Butts and Whitefield. In the *Foundery Collection*, it is labelled SALISBURY and set to Charles Wesley's text 'Christ the Lord is ris'n today', a combination of words and music replicated by Whitefield in *Divine Musical Miscellany*, though with the title EASTER SUNDAY HYMN. Conversely, Butts retains the title from the *Foundery Collection*, but sets the text 'Glory be to God on high', which is replicated by Wesley in both editions of *Sacred Melody* and *Sacred Harmony*, despite several non-Methodist collections including the tune with the Easter text in the intervening years.<sup>12</sup> This setting also gives evidence that Wesley was using the first edition of *Harmonia Sacra*, despite the closer musical similarity of later editions, as Butts changes the text in his second edition to Charles Wesley's famous Christmas hymn 'Hark, how all the welkin rings'.<sup>13</sup> This is one of the rare three-part settings with the tune on the middle stave in *Sacred Harmony*, and is an exact replication of the setting found in *Harmonia Sacra*.

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<sup>12</sup> See Ibid., Tune 685 and Text CTLIRT1.

<sup>13</sup> This combination harks back to an earlier, small collection of tunes, appended to an edition of Wesley's *A Collection of Hymns and Sacred Poems*, published in Dublin in 1749. See Ibid., Source #CHSP.

The image displays a musical score for a two-part setting of a hymn, titled 'SALISBURY'. The score is written for two voices (Soprano and Alto) and piano accompaniment. It consists of four systems of music, each with two staves (treble and bass clef) and a piano part. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: 'Glo - ry be to God on high, Hal - le - lu - jah!', 'God whose glo - ry fill the sky, Hal - le - lu - jah!', 'Peace on Earth to man for - giv'n, Hal - le - lu - jah!', and 'Man the well be - lov'd of heav'n, Hal - le - lu - jah!'. The piano part provides a simple harmonic accompaniment, often mirroring the vocal lines in a functional manner.

Figure X-5: SALISBURY

The two-part settings in *Sacred Harmony* are largely characterised by functional, simple bass lines, with the same basic rhythmic patterns as the melody, though frequently without corresponding decorative notes. NORWICH is representative of this style of harmonisation; the only non-syllabic notes in the bass line are either required for harmonic purposes, such as in bar 8 (A), or are simple passing notes moving in parallel with the melody, such as in bars 11-13 (B). The more decorative elements of



the melody, such as the various semiquaver figurations, are underpinned by a single bass note, giving a strong sense of harmonic stability.

The image displays a musical score for a piano accompaniment, likely for a hymn. It consists of three systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff joined by a brace. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are written below the notes. The first system starts with the lyrics "O God of our fore - fath - ers hear, And make thy faith - ful mer - cies known, To thee thro' Je - sus". The second system starts with "I draw near Thy suff - ring well be - lov - ed Son, In whom thy, In whom thy smil -". The third system starts with "ing face I see, In whom thou, In whom thou art well pleas'd with me." There are three measures in the third system, each with a bracket labeled 'B' underneath the bass staff. The first measure of the third system is marked with a '6' above the treble staff. The second measure of the third system is marked with an '11' above the treble staff. The third measure of the third system is marked with an 'A' above the bass staff.

Figure X-6: NORWICH

Other harmonisations are simpler still, replicating none of the decorative features of the melody and providing only a functional, harmonic support with entirely syllabic setting. SNOWFIELDS is an example of this plainer style of harmonisation; despite the many decorative features of the elegant melody, which occur in almost every bar, the bass line moves resolutely in minims and semibreves throughout, providing harmonic stability and a strong sense of the basic pulse, while the typical rhythmic figuration semibreve-minim aids momentum.

Thee Je - su, thee the sin - ners friend, I fol - low

on to ap - pre - hend, Re - new the glo - rious

strife, Di - vin - ely con - fi - dent and bold,

With faith's strong arm on thee lay hold,

Thee, my, thee, my e - ter - nal life.

Figure X-7: SNOWFIELDS

A few bass lines are more active, following the melodies in greater detail with more non-essential notes. The melody and bass rhythms in MANCHESTER are identical throughout while most of the non-essential bass notes move in parallel with the melody, with the exception of those notes that provide harmonic direction in preparation for cadences, for example in bars 6 and 11. Rather than relying on regularised harmonic and rhythmic momentum from the bass line, this type of setting uses the bass line to maintain the flow of the music by providing a supporting line that combines melodic interest with harmonic direction.



O Lord in- cline thy gra- cious ear, My plain - tive sor - rows weigh,

To thee for suc - cour I draw near, To thee I

hum - bly pray, To thee I hum - bly pray.

Figure X-8: MANCHESTER

Despite their differences, all three examples of the two-part settings have bass lines that conform to the metrical pattern of the hymn text, which is a common feature of all the tunes in the collection. This indicates that Wesley was prepared for the tunes to be sung in harmony rather than just accompanied by harpsichord or organ. This is further emphasised by the range of the bass lines, which are largely contained within the regular bass staff, allowing them to be played or sung with equal ease.<sup>14</sup> Notably, in settings by composers such as Lampe, which began their life as solo-song-like works, extra bass notes are added to fit in all the syllables, whereas the original was clearly designed for keyboard use only, as shown by a comparison of the first line of both settings of ‘Rejoice, the Lord is King’:

<sup>14</sup> Eighteenth-century English organs has keyboards that extended to G', considerably below the normal vocal range of a bass singer. Stephen Bicknell describes the standard 'long-compass Great organ', noting that organ builders persisted with this method into the nineteenth century, 'until at last abandoning it in the 1840s in favour of the 'German system' of uniform C-compass keyboards and independent pedal organ.' Stephen Bicknell, 'Organ, §V: 1450–1800 8. The English Organ', in L. Macy (ed.), *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com/>>, accessed 05/09/2007.

Re - joice, the Lord is\_\_\_ King!

6

Figure X-9: Lampe HYMN VIII, bars 1-2

Re - joice, the Lord is\_\_\_ King!

Figure X-10: RESURRECTION, bars 1-2

These extracts also give an example of the harmonic changes that have been made between the two versions. In several instances, Lampe’s bass line has been simplified, altering the harmonic sense of the music, perhaps allowing it to be sung more easily by eliminating certain dissonances (bars 3-4) and reducing its melodic movement (bars 10-12):

Your Lord and\_\_\_ King a - dore;

6 6 5

Figure X-11: Lampe HYMN VIII, bars 3-4

Your Lord and\_\_\_ King a - dore;

Figure X-12: RESURRECTION, bars 3-4



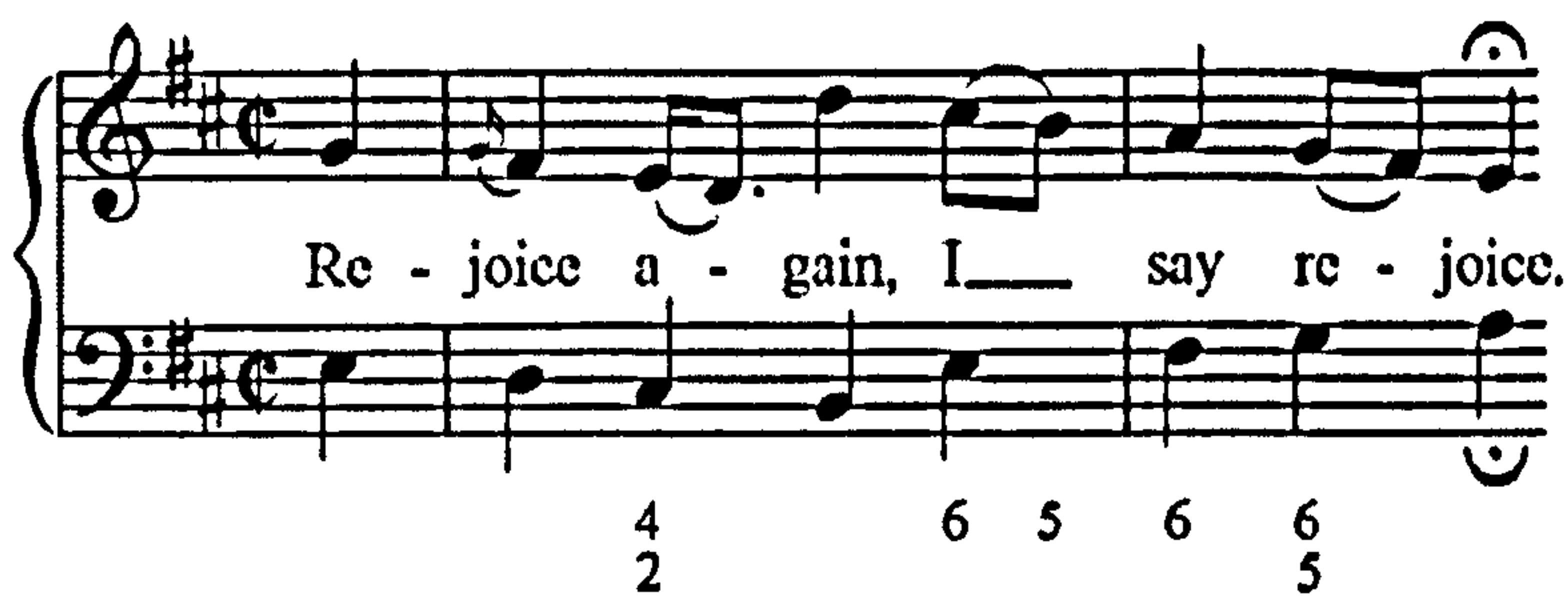


Figure X-13: Lampe HYMN VIII, bars 10-12

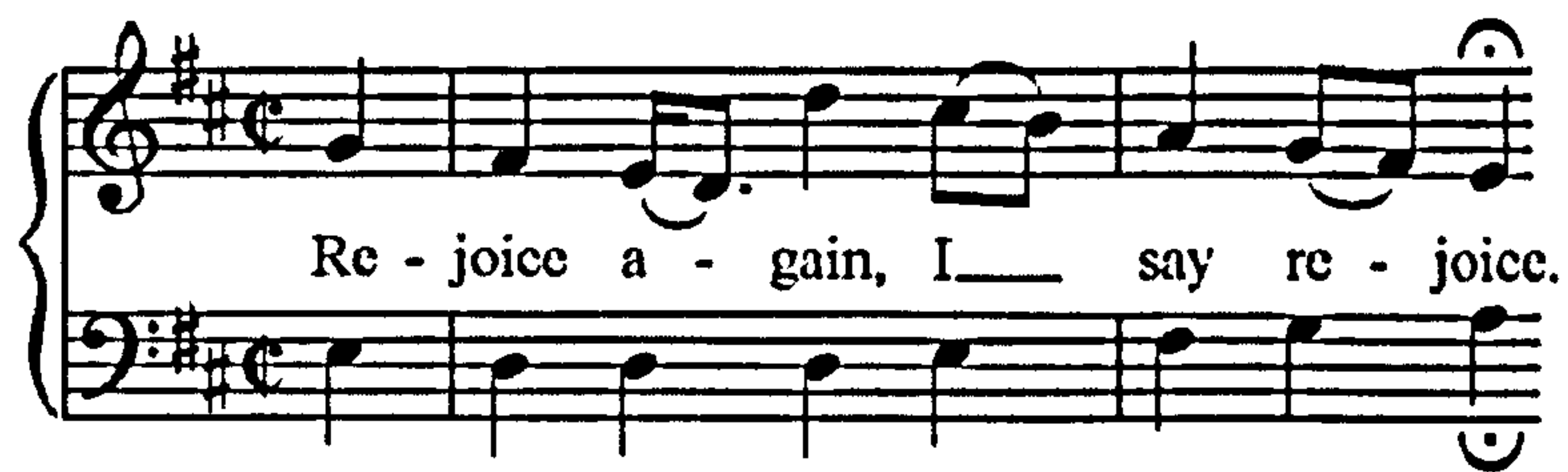


Figure X-14: RESURRECTION, bars 10-12

The overall effect of these changes on Lampe’s tune and other similar instances lessen the impact of the original settings and weaken the harmonic integrity.<sup>15</sup> They reflect an irresolvable tension between the merits of unison or harmony singing on the one side and solo performance or full congregational participation on the other. While originally composed for solo, and by default unison, vocal performance, the complexities of many of Lampe’s melodies required modification, for, as Nicholas Temperley comments, they ‘were not really suited to congregational singing by a mass of unschooled people without musical leadership.’<sup>16</sup> In simplifying the melodies, the compilers of various collections were undoubtedly trying to turn these melodies into congregational tunes, while the apparent prevalence of harmony singing required Lampe’s imaginative bass lines to be re-cast, with the result that some of the original vitality and appeal of the settings is lost.

<sup>15</sup> Other examples include the tunes labelled CHAPEL and CALVARY, both by Lampe. Several pitches in the bass line of the latter are placed an octave higher (e.g. D to d, E to e), presumably for ease of singing.

<sup>16</sup> Temperley, 'Methodist Church Music'.

As observed in the examples above, the harmonic vocabulary of the bass lines in *Sacred Harmony* was straightforward and almost exclusively functional. Cadential figures are regularly treated depending upon the type of cadence; final perfect cadences are in root position, often with a step-wise approach, as are many intermediate perfect cadences, while imperfect cadences frequently use inversions, with step-wise movement. The harmonisation of MARIENBOURN emphasises these characteristics; the functional bass line follows some of the nuances of the melody, while there is a clear delineation between weak imperfect (**A**) and strong perfect (**B**) cadences, which results in a well-structured setting.



The musical score is for a piece titled 'MARIENBOURN' in 3/4 time. It consists of five systems of music, each with a piano accompaniment (treble and bass staves) and a vocal line (treble staff). The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals. There are also some markings like 'A' and 'B' under the piano accompaniment staves, possibly indicating specific harmonic or structural points. The lyrics are: 'I.o, God is here, let us a - dore, And own how dread - full is this place! Let all with - in us feel his pow'r, And si - lent bow be - fore his face. Who feel his pow'r, his grace who prove, Serve him with awe, with rev - erence, love.'

Figure X-15: MARIENBOURN

Chromatic alteration of bass lines is almost exclusively confined to occasions of harmonic necessity, such as in minor keys and in preparation for modulations, with virtually no instances of chromatic decoration. The harmonic treatment of minor keys is attended to with precision, as illustrated in the harmonisation of WELCH, which modulates from G major to A minor; ascending figures have sharpened sixths and sevenths, with corresponding naturals in descent, as in bars 11-13, indicated below. This reflects a skilled editor, not only aware of the principles of musical grammar but also capable of implementing them.

O love di - vine what hath thou done! Thim - mor - tal

7  
God hath died for me! The Fa - ther's co - e - ter - nal

14  
Son, Bore all my sins u - pon the tree; Thim - mor - tal

22  
God for me hath died. My Lord my

27  
Love is eu - ei - fied.

Figure X-16: WELCH

The three-part settings obviously represent a higher level of harmonic complexity and imply a more sophisticated performance practice. As noted, the melody in these settings occurs as the top voice in some instances and as the middle voice in others; irrespective of this, there is little difference in range and tessitura, the two upper parts co-existing largely on equal terms, while the use of two treble clefs also implies that they were meant to be sung by voices occupying a similar range. Both parts have the same text printed beneath them, clearly indicating that the melody and second treble part were meant to be sung.



In some instances, such as SALISBURY, cited above, it is clear that the upper treble part is meant to be a descant. It is consistently higher than the melody, notably so at three of the cadences, where it adds considerable excitement to the setting, in particular the climax on a'' for the final 'Hallelujah!'. Although this part could be sung as an alto line an octave lower without altering the harmonic vocabulary, the low first note and third cadence figure suggest this is unlikely, as they would be considerably nearer the bass line than the melody and thus rather low in a typical alto range and considerably wider in range than other examples that are clearly subordinate to the melody.

The setting of 'Christ the Lord is ris'n today' to MACCABEES includes the melody in the top part with a second treble part that is clearly subordinate, following the contours of the melody almost entirely in thirds and never rising above it. The triumphant nature of the text and the bold setting are well suited, but the retention of Handel's original key of G major means that the melody extends to g'' and is in a high tessitura for congregational singing throughout several phrases. The lower treble part, though not containing the melody, is actually in a more suitable range for congregational use. This somewhat limits the congregational suitability of what is otherwise an effective three-part setting, in which the melody is never obscured by the other voices.

Christ the Lord is ris'n to-day, Sons of men and Angels say,  
Christ the Lord is ris'n to-day, Sons of men and Angels say,  
Rise your Joys and triumphs high, Sing ye heav'ns and Earth re-ply.  
Rise your Joys and triumphs high, Sing ye heav'ns and Earth re-ply.  
Rise your joys and triumphs high, Sing ye heav'ns and Earth re-ply.  
Rise your joys and triumphs high, Sing ye heav'ns and Earth re-ply.

Figure X-17: MACCABEES

The function of the second treble part in Martin Madan's setting of OLIVERS seems to be deliberately ambiguous. The melody is printed on the upper treble stave while the second treble part is higher than it throughout much of the hymn, though with less musical interest, for example, the repetition of d'' in bars 1, 5 and 12 of the second treble part is somewhat bland (A). This suggests that the part might be more effective if sung an octave lower, which would also result in parallel thirds in bars 2 and 6, giving greater emphasis to the varied pitch of the melody (B). However, bars 4 and 8 and the third phrase already function in this way; transposing the third phrase an octave lower would place it below the bass line and was clearly not intended (C). Accordingly, it seems most likely that the setting was meant to be sung at the printed



pitch throughout, though this frequently distracts the ear from the lively, striking melody, drawing it instead to the more mundane second treble part, thus diluting the general effectiveness of the hymn.

Lo! he comes with clouds descending, Once for favoured sinners slain. Thou-sand Thou-sand

Lo! he comes with clouds descending, Once for favoured sinners slain. Thou-sand Thou-sand

saints attend-ing, Swell the triumph of his train. Hal-le-lu-jah, Hal-le-lu-jah,

saints attend-ing, Swell the triumph of his train. Hal-le-lu-jah, Hal-le-lu-jah,

Hal-le-lu-jah, Hal-le-lu-jah, God appears on Earth to reign.

Hal-le-lu-jah, Hal-le-lu-jah, God appears on Earth to reign.

Figure X-18: OLIVERS

One notable change from *Harmonia Sacra* is the absence of figures beneath the bass line. Although Butts' settings could clearly be sung in harmony, the figured bass allowed keyboard accompaniments to be realised with relative ease, irrespective of whether the singing was in unison or harmony. Despite the reference to harpsichord or organ accompaniment on the title-page of *Sacred Harmony*, the removal of these figures actually placed greater demands on keyboard players, especially in the two-

part settings. While the presence of a third line would give a clear indication of both the basic harmonic progressions and a suitable model for realising extra parts, in the melody and bass settings, the player is required to identify the correct harmonic implication and provide a convincing realisation without assistance. Although the harmony is mostly predictable, certain ambiguities are unavoidable. However, it is possible that the figures were omitted because Wesley regarded them as superfluous due to the paucity of organs in Methodist chapels and his own attitude towards them; Temperley notes that 'Three [organs] are known to have been erected during his lifetime, at Bristol, Newark and Keighley',<sup>17</sup> while Wesley's ambivalence to organ music is well documented.<sup>18</sup>

Overall, it is clear that *Sacred Harmony* owes much to Butts' *Harmonia Sacra* in respect of musical accuracy, harmonic principles and adaptation of tunes for congregational use. As well as its significance in terms of the underlying principles concerning Methodist worship, the reduction of most of the settings from three to two parts is also important on musical grounds, as it indicates that under Wesley's guidance, *Sacred Harmony* was compiled by a literate and experienced musician. It is notable that several of the three-part settings that are included are of a festal nature, such as SALISBURY and MACCABEES, or, in the case of OLIVERS, were written by a composer known personally to Wesley. In these cases, it is possible that he regarded the extra degree of musical complexity as permissible, either given the likely nature of meetings at which the tunes would be sung, or in deference to an associate. However, other musical alterations, notably the omission of some repeat markings and the lack

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> In 1757, he described the 'unreasonable and unmeaning impatience of a voluntary on the organ' in some Church of England services, yet in 1762 he describes the organ of Exeter Cathedral: 'Such an organ I never saw or heard before, so large, so beautiful, and so finely toned'. Cited in Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 65, 99.



of figured basses also show the influence Wesley had over the collection. Despite his admiration for *Harmonia Sacra*, these editorial changes mean that the resulting collection conformed to his views on these matters and as such can be seen as an authentically Wesleyan approach to congregational hymnody.

### **Variant Versions of Tunes from *Sacred Melody*: the Influence of *Harmonia Sacra* (ii)**

Of the seven tunes that appear in different forms from those found in *Sacred Melody*, four are directly due to the influence of *Harmonia Sacra*, which contains the same variants. In the case of tunes such as ST LUKE'S, it is clear that the version included in *Sacred Harmony*, corresponding with that in *Harmonia Sacra*, was to correct that found in *Sacred Melody*. In this instance, the two editions of *Sacred Melody* are the only recorded citations of the variant version of the tune; all 88 other citations of the tune from its advent in 1708 to 1820, notably including the *Foundery Collection*, conform to the standard version.<sup>19</sup> A direct comparison of the versions included in all three of Wesley's collections is instructive, revealing the stronger editorial presence that each volume brought. The *Foundery Collection* version seemingly replicates the original melody accurately; it is one of a notable minority of tunes in the volume that is accurately transcribed rhythmically; it retains the original key of D major, which results in several f#'' pitches and a high tessitura throughout several phrases.

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<sup>19</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 667a (original) and b (variant).

No com - mon Vi - sion this I see In more than hu - man Ma - je - sty!

8  
Who is this migh - ty He - ro, who, With glo - rious Ter - ror on his Brow?

16  
His deep dy'd Crim - son Robes out - vie The Blu - shes of the Mor - ning Sky;

25  
Lo, how tri - um - phant he ap - pears And Vict' - ry in his Vi - sage bears.

Figure X-19: STLUKE’S TUNE from the *Foundry Collection*

Following the example of *Harmonia Sacra*, the version in *Sacred Melody* is transposed down a tone into C major, making it easier for congregational singing. There are three seemingly erroneous alterations of pitch; two of these (the a’ in bar 4 (A) and a’ on the second beat of bar 11 (B)) may be accounted for as transposition errors, as they are at the original pitch for the D major version of the tune. The third, the c’ in bar 2 (C), although harmonically compatible, makes the arpeggiated phrase even more angular, and is presumably a copying error. A further alteration of pitch, apparently without precedent or reason, occurs at the end of the second phrase, where the tonic is now approached from above in a 3-2-1 descent (D), whereas the earlier version jumped from the second degree of the scale down to the seventh before rising onto the tonic. The editor of *Sacred Melody* also makes several rhythmic alterations, perhaps intended to regularise the setting. In the fourth and eighth phrases, the rhythm of bars 15 and 31 is altered from semibreve – minim to minim – semibreve (E), in the same pattern as the corresponding points of the second and third phrases. Although in the first instance this makes three consecutive phrases end with the same rhythmic pattern, the original version corresponded with the end of the first phrase,



creating a greater sense of overall balance, while in the second half of the tune, none of the other phrases end with this pattern, rendering the latter change somewhat unnecessary. The dotted rhythm pattern in the sixth phrase has been ironed out into three minims here, creating greater regularity but diminishing musical interest. Furthermore, the rhythmic patterns between the phrases in the second half of the tune have been altered; whereas in the original they all conformed to the same pattern as the first half, i.e. each phrase ending with a semibreve and the new phrase beginning with a minim upbeat, the final notes are lengthened to dotted semibreves with the first bar of phrases six and seven containing three minims. The transition between phrases 7 and 8 begins in the same way, with a dotted semibreve, but a single minim follows after the double bar line, before a semibreve – minim pattern in the first full bar of the final phrase. This is clearly an editorial error, which upsets the pulse of the tune; even if it is corrected by reducing the final note of phrase 7 to a semibreve, it is still in contrast to the immediately preceding phrases. Overall, this alteration is unnecessary and undermines the rhythmic integrity and regularity of the tune as a whole.

The image shows a musical score for a hymn titled 'STLUKE'S' from 'Sacred Melody'. The score is written on a single staff in treble clef, with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of 3/4. The melody consists of 25 measures, divided into five phrases of five measures each. The phrases are labeled with letters C, A, D, B, and E above them. The lyrics are written below the staff, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across measures. The lyrics are: 'Arm of the Lord, a - wake, a - wake. Thine own im - mor - tal strength put on, With ter - ror cloth'd the nat - ions shake, And cast thy foes with fu - ry down. As in the An - tient days ap - pear, The sac - red an - nals speak thy name; Be now om - ni - po - tent - ly near, To end - less a - ges still the same.'

Figure X-20: STLUKE'S from *Sacred Melody*

*Sacred Harmony* retains the rhythmic alterations made in the second half of the *Sacred Melody* version, correcting the dotted semibreve at the end of phrase 7 to a semibreve. The melody is restored to the original version, as found in the *Foundery Collection*, but now in C major; the harmonisation of bar 7 indicates that the variant in *Sacred Melody* would have necessitated a change in the implied harmony. This seems to be the definitive version of the tune as far as the editor of *Sacred Harmony* was concerned; the melody conforms to the original while the rhythmic patterns are simplified and some attempt made at regularisation, indicating that the editorial judgements made in *Sacred Melody* were regarded as sound. The final result is a tune that is largely straightforward to sing, with a reasonable range for congregational use, though shorn of some of its more individual features.

The image displays a musical score for a hymn titled 'STLUKE'S' from the collection 'Sacred Harmony'. The score is written for a single melodic line, likely for a voice or a simple instrument, and is presented in four systems. Each system consists of a musical staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#), indicating the key of D major. The time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes. The first system starts at measure 1 and ends at measure 7. The second system starts at measure 8 and ends at measure 15. The third system starts at measure 16 and ends at measure 24. The fourth system starts at measure 25 and ends at measure 32. The lyrics for the first system are: 'Arm of the Lord, a - wake, a - wake. Thine own im - mor - tal strength put on;'. The lyrics for the second system are: 'With ter - ror cloth'd the nat - ions shake, And cast thy foes with fu - ry down.'. The lyrics for the third system are: 'As in the An - tient days ap - pear, The sac - red an - nals speak thy name;'. The lyrics for the fourth system are: 'Be now om - ni - po - tent - ly near, To end - less a - ges still the same.'.

Arm of the Lord, a - wake, a - wake. Thine own im - mor - tal strength put on;

8  
With ter - ror cloth'd the nat - ions shake, And cast thy foes with fu - ry down.

16  
As in the An - tient days ap - pear, The sac - red an - nals speak thy name;

25  
Be now om - ni - po - tent - ly near, To end - less a - ges still the same.

Figure X-21: STLUKE'S from *Sacred Harmony*



Alterations to tunes such as WELCH, LOVE FEAST and ISLINGTON likewise restore the melodies to the original forms; the first is the same version as can be found in *Harmonia Sacra*, which corrects the first known citation of this tune, as CARDIFF in the *Foundery Collection*. ISLINGTON restores the melody to that found in the *Foundery Collection*, but correcting the rhythmic errors and making minor simplifications. These tunes show the editorial influence of *Harmonia Sacra* in correcting the errors found in *Sacred Melody*, but also reinforces the importance of the earlier *Foundery Collection*, which, despite its inadequacies, provided versions of tunes that clearly became accepted within Methodism, possibly shaping the content of Butts' more comprehensive and useable collection. The tune CAMBRIDGE gives more evidence of the importance of *Harmonia Sacra*, which includes two variants of it under different names; *Sacred Melody* adopted the second of these, which has no repeat whereas the first is included here, with repetition of the final line. A similar change occurs in WEST STREET, the melody of which appears almost exactly as printed in *Harmonia Sacra* and *Sacred Melody*, except with the repetition of the final line. Given Wesley's reservations concerning this practice, these are notable revisions, as there seems to be no reason for their inclusion other than to acknowledge the popularity of this practice, indicating a compromise between the general suitability of the tune for congregational singing and the common practice of those who sang it.

The setting of PLYMOUTH is a new variant, closely based on that found in *Sacred Melody*, which was itself derived from the version in *Harmonia Sacra*. The first three phrases of all three versions are identical, while the melody of the final phrase in *Sacred Harmony* follows the pattern in *Sacred Melody*, rising up to the tonic before

descending to a conclusion an octave lower, but introduces a more decorative descent, with semiquaver passing notes. The key remains the same in all three collections, which means that the final phrase in *Sacred Melody* and *Sacred Harmony* ascends to a’’. This variant seems to acknowledge another aspect of popular performance practice, the embellishment of tunes. Although adhering to the basic pattern previously set out by Wesley, the written-out flourish in the final phrase has an improvisatory nature and presumably arose from a desire to create a greater impact at the climax of the tune.

Lord and God of heavn' - ly pow'rs Theirs, yet Oh! be - nign - ly ours;

9  
Glor - ious King let Earth pro - claim, Worms at - tempt to chaunt thy name.

Figure X-22: PLYMOUTH

These variants highlight the musical awareness of the editor of *Sacred Harmony*. Despite the high status accorded to *Sacred Melody*, it is clear than rather than simply replicating tunes with minor errors, a critical approach was taken and other sources used to produce musically accurate settings. Furthermore, the additions of repeats and extra decorative figures, in some cases original to *Sacred Harmony*, indicates a level of technical competence and awareness of contemporary trends in performance practice.



## **‘New’ Tunes: Origins and Characteristics**

*Sacred Harmony* includes thirteen tunes that had not been published in any edition of the previous collections of hymn tunes directly associated with Wesley. Several of these present yet more evidence of the close relationship between *Harmonia Sacra* and *Sacred Harmony*, but others reveal a wider range of sources and influences, often with musicians associated with the movement, such as Martin Madan and Thomas Olivers.

Of the four tunes that had previously been published in the first edition of *Harmonia Sacra*, only MACCABEES, discussed above, gained widespread use. SMITH’S, originally from Benjamin Smith and Peter Prelleur’s *The Harmonious Companion; or, The Psalm-Singer’s Magazine* (1732) is found in only ten sources before 1820, most of which are associated with Methodism. Although a technically well-constructed tune, it has a fairly high tessitura in many phrases while the minor key seems somewhat incongruous in relation to the bold adoration of the text ‘Stand and adore! How glorious he, that dwells in bright eternity!’<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., Tune 1332. The associated text in the original publication, ‘The sun of righteousness appear, never to set in blood no more’, together with the designation EASTER HYMN, also seems somewhat inappropriate.

Stand and a - dore! How glor - ious He That dwells in bright e - ter - ni - ty!

We gaze, and we con-found our fight, Plung'd in th'a - byss of daz - ling light:

Thou sac - red One, Al - migh - ty Three, Great ev - er - last - ing my - ste - ry;

What lof - ty num - bers shall we frame, Eq - ual to thy tre - mend - ous name.

Figure X-23: SMITH'S

MITCHAM, meanwhile, had an even more limited circulation, appearing only in successive editions of *Harmonia Sacra* prior to its inclusion in *Sacred Harmony*, though it enjoyed greater success thereafter, with a total of 37 citations up to 1820. Roger Deschner notes that part of this tune seems to have been taken from Handel's *Water Music Suite No. 1* (HWV 348),<sup>21</sup> as the first half of the melody bears a close resemblance to the opening of the 'Bourrée' from Handel's suite. While the resulting tune has an obvious element of familiarity, its melody is nonetheless somewhat awkward; the descending scale of bar 7 unexpectedly omits the third, while there are occasional technical features such as the leap to a dissonance at bar2/beat 4 and some

<sup>21</sup> Roger Deschner, 'Annotated Copy of *Sacred Harmony or a Choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, in Two or Three Parts, for the Voice, Harpsichord and Organ*', *Roger Deschner Archive* (Wesley/Music; Dallas: Bridwell Library, Southern Methodist University, n.d.) 38-39.



awkward harmonic writing, such as bar 14/beat 3 and bar 15/beats 1-2, which are better suited to instrumental performance.

Figure X-24: MITCHAM

Figure X-25: G.F. Handel, 'Bourée' from Water Music Suite I, bars 1-8

One further tune, TRUMPET, appeared in the second and third editions of *Harmonia Sacra*, but not in the 1754 version, which seems to have had the most significant impact on *Sacred Harmony*. The most important influence in this case seems to have been *Musica Sacra, being a Choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, and Chants... as they are used in... the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapels, in Bath, Bristol, &c.* (Bath: W. Gye, [c.1778]), which set it to the text 'Blow ye the trumpet, blow the gladly solemn sound', a combination retained in *Sacred Harmony*, and

which clearly provided the inspiration for the tune name.<sup>22</sup> Earlier, it had also been included in Thomas Knibb's *The Psalm Singers Help* (c.1765), which was apparently known to the compiler of *Sacred Harmony*, but with a different text.<sup>23</sup> The designation is apt, given the arpeggios (A) and repeated-note fanfare-like figures (B) that characterise this dramatic tune, which is well suited to the millenarian nature of the text.

Blow ye the trum-pet, blow The glad-ly sol-emnsound, Let all the nat-ions know, Let

all the nat-ions know, To earth's re-mot-est bound, To earth's re-mot-est bound, The

year of Ju-bi-lee is come; Re-turn ye ran-som'd sin-ners home. The

year of Ju-bi-lee is come; Re-turn ye ran-som'd sin-ners home.

Figure X-26: TRUMPET

Martin Madan's tune, labelled THE 100 PSALM, is actually a longer work in the set-piece genre.<sup>24</sup> Previous to *Sacred Harmony*, this version had only been included in

<sup>22</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 3079, Source #MSH.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., Source KnibTPSH b. See the discussion of ARNE, below, for more details concerning the relationship of this volume and *Sacred Harmony*.

<sup>24</sup> For discussion of its musical characteristics, see the section below on Set-Pieces.



the composer's own *A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* (1769), which was directly linked to the Lock Hospital, and familiar to Wesley,<sup>25</sup> and the seventh edition of John Arnold's *The Complete Psalmodist* (1779). The *Hymn Tune Index* notes that 'In some sources an inserted passage in B minor, triple time, turns this into a set piece'<sup>26</sup> while in 1780, a shorter version, more in the style of a hymn tune, had been published in *Select Psalms for the use of Portman-Chapel, near Portman-Square*.<sup>27</sup> The decision to include the whole work in its set-piece format reflects the respect accorded to Madan and his music as well as the willingness to incorporate material in this genre.

Only the fourth and fifth editions of Knibb's collection contain the tune ARNE prior to *Sacred Harmony*, though under the title SCOTLAND. This volume was reprinted several times during the 1760s and 1770s; Temperley notes that in addition to Whitefield's *Divine Musical Miscellany*, provided for the Calvinistic Methodists, 'the tunebooks of Thomas Knibb were also designed for the use of this sect.'<sup>28</sup> It is therefore unsurprising that it should be known to Wesley and his musical editor. The compiler of *Sacred Harmony* was clearly aware of the secular origin of the tune, which is adapted from the air 'Water parted from the sea' in Arne's opera *Artaxerxes* (1762).<sup>29</sup> It is an extremely long and ornate tune, setting twelve lines of seven syllables each, although the text of lines 5-8 is repeated for lines 9-12. The music is in a modified ternary form; lines 9 and 10 are repetitions of lines 1 and 2, although the final two lines of music have a different and considerably more elaborate melody

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<sup>25</sup> See the discussion of OLIVERS, above, in *Sacred Melody*.

<sup>26</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 3257a.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., Tune 3257b, Source #SPCCa.

<sup>28</sup> Temperley, 'Methodist Church Music'.

<sup>29</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 3322. The complete lack of similarity between this tune and COOKHAM in *Sacred Melody* further disproves Frost's suggestion that the latter may have been derived from the same air. See the discussion of *Sacred Melody*, above, n.53.

from lines 3 and 4. The harmonic structure is straightforward and clearly defined and there is considerable use of repetition and sequence within and between phrases.

However, while such features make the basic tune no more difficult than other examples in a similar style, its length and the excessive repetition of half of the verse would limit its use in a congregational context, as it would be a long and laborious process to sing more than one full verse of the hymn.



The image displays a musical score for a hymn, identified as Figure X-27: ARNE. The score is written for piano, with a treble and bass staff joined by a brace. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are written below the notes. The score is divided into six systems, each starting with a measure number (1, 9, 17, 25, 33, 41). The lyrics are: "Hap - py soul, that safe from harms, Rests with - in his shep - herd's arms! Who his qui - et shall mo - lest! Who shall vi - o - late his rest! Je - sus doth his spi - rit hear, Je - sus marks his ev' - ry care, He who found the wand' - ring sheep, Je - sus still de - lights to keep. Je - sus doth his spi - rit bear, Je - sus marks his ev' - ry care, He who found the wand' - ring sheep, Je - sus still de - lights to keep." The music features a variety of note values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. There are also trills (tr) indicated above some notes.

1  
Hap - py soul, that safe from harms, Rests with - in his shep - herd's arms!

9  
Who his qui - et shall mo - lest! Who shall vi - o - late his rest!

17  
Je - sus doth his spi - rit hear, Je - sus marks his ev' - ry care,

25  
He who found the wand' - ring sheep, Je - sus still de - lights to keep.

33  
Je - sus doth his spi - rit bear, Je - sus marks his ev' - ry care,

41  
He who found the wand' - ring sheep, Je - sus still de - lights to keep.

Figure X-27: ARNE

The origin of the tune DERBY highlights another volume, *The Spiritual Psalmodist's Companion* (London: E. Englefield and W. Kent, 1772), which seems to have been both influenced by and exerted influence upon Wesley's collections of hymn tunes.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., Source #SPC. It contains 54 tunes, all in unison, the vast majority of which had previously been included in *Sacred Melody*, many with the same titles and texts. It includes some tunes peculiar to Methodism, such as selections from Lampe's *Hymns on the Great Festivals*, yet its connection with

The tune was first printed in this volume and received no further publication until *Sacred Harmony*, where it appeared in a slightly modified form, harmonised for the first time.<sup>31</sup> It is a clearly-structured tune that makes use of repetition and sequence and has some ornamentation, particularly in the first two phrases. As it had only been previously published as an un-harmonised melody, Wesley's musical editor presumably supplied his own bass line. Although this follows the logical harmonic implications of the melody, it is somewhat stilted and shows only a rudimentary understanding of harmonic conventions; the whole of the first phrase is underpinned by repetitions of the tonic (A), while there is an unprepared dissonance at bar 3/beat 3 (B) leading to the cadence at the end of the second phrase. The repeated tonic notes reappear in bar 9, before descending to a flattened seventh in bar 10 (C), which has no harmonic logic, as the melody implies a simple tonic – dominant – tonic progression between bars 9 and 11. This indicates that although the editor was capable of amending pre-existing materials accurately, his compositional skills in producing an original harmonisation were limited. The tune is somewhat impeded by the harmonisation, though it does not affect its congregational suitability, as indicated by its later publication record.

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Methodism is not recorded by Wesley or in any secondary literature. The *Hymn Tune Index* lists only the publication information and citations for each tune, which provides no information about its use, circulation or intended audience. The tune was set to Charles Wesley's text 'Come, let us anew our journey pursue' in *The Spiritual Psalmist's Companion*, under the title NEW YEAR'S DAY.

Although neither the text or title were retained in *Sacred Harmony*, this further strengthens the collection's links with Methodism; it was necessary to provide it with a new title and text in *Sacred Harmony* as the same combination had already been established in connection with another tune. See Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 3543 and Text CLUAOJ1.

<sup>31</sup> The original version was printed only 3 times until 1820, whereas the modified version in *Sacred Harmony* appeared 21 times. See Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 3543a and b.



A - way with our fears, Our sor-rows and tears; The Spi - rit is come, The

7  
Spi-rit is come, The wit-ness of Je - sus, The wit-ness of Je - sus, re - turn'd to his home.

Figure X-28: DERBY

PARIS had likewise only been printed once as a unison setting prior to *Sacred Harmony*, in Thomas Chapman’s collection *The Young Gentlemen and Ladies Musical Companion*, Vol. I (London: Straight and Skillern, and by the author, 1772 (1773)).<sup>32</sup> The melody is well balanced both within and between phrases, with a clear harmonic and rhythmic structure. The harmonisation, presumably also by Wesley’s editor, is more successful than was the case in DERBY, assisted by the highly conventional melodic patterns, particularly at cadential points. The only moment of awkwardness is at bar 11/beat 3 (\*), where the bass g creates an undesirable accented passing note in the melody.

<sup>32</sup> This collection contained 103 tunes, many attributed to various seventeenth- and eighteenth-century composers. This is one of the few tunes with no attribution. Unlike *The Spiritual Psalmodist’s Companion*, there seems to be little connection between this volume and earlier Methodist publications. The collection may have been known personally to Wesley or his music editor; the only possible link with the former is that ‘Chapman was schoolmaster of the charity school of the parish of St. Martin in the Fields.’ Ibid., Source ChapTYGL1.



Figure X-29: PARIS

THE GOD OF ABRAHAM is a much older tune, associated with Judaism but probably derived from a chorale.<sup>33</sup> It had only been transcribed into the form found in *Sacred Harmony* around 1770, at the instigation of Thomas Olivers, who wrote the accompanying text.<sup>34</sup> Its evolution into a hymn tune with English words is therefore closely connected to the Methodism, as Olivers was an itinerant preacher and heavily involved in the movement's hymnody and was possibly the composer of the tune OLIVERS.<sup>35</sup> It had been printed in several earlier collections, including *Musica Sacra* of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, before being included in *Sacred Harmony*. Its bold melody, regular and purposeful rhythm and carefully crafted bass line suggest that it had been prepared by a competent musician, possibly Olivers himself.

<sup>33</sup> The *Hymn Tune Index* notes that it came from the 'repertory of the synagogue at Duke's Place, Aldgate, London... It was probably derived from a German chorale tune (see Zahn 5076, 5116).' Ibid., Tune 3695.

<sup>34</sup> Watson and Trickett note that 'This is one of the traditional tunes for the Yigdal. There is some doubt whether it was ever written down before being transcribed by Meyer Lyon (1751-97)... at the request of Thomas Olivers about 1770, whereupon Olivers adapted it for congregational singing as a setting of his hymn based on the Yigdal. Watson and Trickett, *Companion to Hymns & Psalms* 67.

<sup>35</sup> Watson and Trickett's biographical note on Olivers states that 'His hard work and diligent study impressed Wesley, who appointed him as a sub-editor for projects such as the *Arminian Magazine*, the 1780 *Collection* and the *Pocket Hymn Books* of 1785 and 1787.



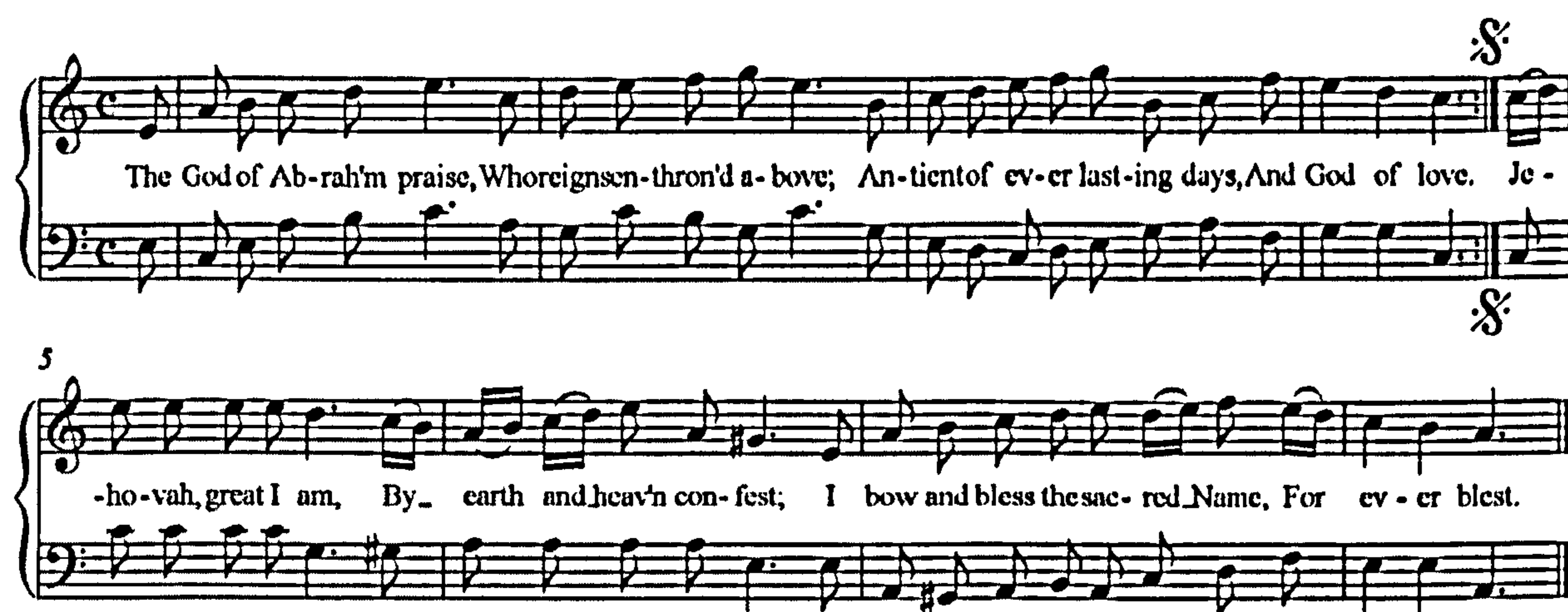


Figure X-30: THE GOD OF ABRAHAM

A further four tunes appeared as congregational settings for the first time in *Sacred Harmony*. MUSICIAN'S is adapted from the air 'When all the attic fire was fled' from Thomas Arne's opera *Eliza* (1754) and is a typically ornate and elegant melody, sharing many melodic characteristics with other tunes adapted from the same composer. The only other possible attribution for any of these four tunes concerns ATHLONE, which, on the basis of later sources, is noted as 'Probably by Turlough Carolan',<sup>36</sup> an Irish harper and composer. This association seems likely, as the tune appears to have been named after an Irish town, which John Wesley visited in 1748.<sup>37</sup> It is a flowing melody in  $\frac{3}{4}$  time with much stepwise movement and strong rhythmic momentum, conforming to Gráinne Yeats's observation that 'Most of Carolan's music, much of which is in dance rhythm, is cheerful and lively'.<sup>38</sup> The likelihood of Carolan's music appealing to Wesley is increased by the influences that can be observed therein, all of which are either commented on favourably by Wesley elsewhere or exerted a strong influence on the music of his hymn collections:

<sup>36</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 4205.

<sup>37</sup> Wesley's Diary for 1/2 April 1748 notes a visit to Athlone. Richard P. Heitzenrater and W. Reginald Ward (eds.), *Journal and Diaries Iii (1743-54)*, Vol. 20, 33 vols. (The Works of John Wesley, Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1988) 216.

<sup>38</sup> Gráinne Yeats, 'Carolan, Turlough', in L. Macy (ed.), *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com/>>, accessed 05/09/07.

His pieces show influences of Irish folk melody, the traditional harp music of Ireland, and Italian art music. He was unusual among the Irish harpers in looking beyond the native tradition for musical inspiration. He knew and was greatly influenced by the music of the Italian composers of his own time, such as Vivaldi and Corelli, and he greatly admired Geminiani, whom he almost certainly met in Dublin.<sup>39</sup>

The melody was presumably transcribed from memory by Wesley or his editor, before being harmonised for inclusion in *Sacred Harmony*.<sup>40</sup> Once again, the bass line is somewhat stilted, with some awkwardness, particularly in bar 12, where the minim tonic is an unconvincing accompaniment to the folk-like figure at the end of the phrase:



Figure X-31: ATHILONE

Both of the other 'new' tunes are lengthy settings in minor keys, with repetition of the final lines of text in both cases. The lack of other original tunes together with the technical limitations previously noted makes it unlikely that these were composed by

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. Wesley's *Thoughts on the Power of Music* comments favourably on Scottish and Irish airs, while the influence of the melody-dominated Italian compositional style has already been noted.

<sup>40</sup> Yeats notes that many of Carolan's pieces 'are only in single line form, so that it is not definitely known how he harmonized or accompanied his melodies.' Ibid.



the editor of *Sacred Harmony*. CHESTER has a strong sense of momentum and a sophisticated harmonisation, which combined with the repetition of the first two phrases make it a suitable tune for congregational use, despite its length. The harmonisation employs a broader vocabulary than those tunes presumably set by the editor, with clear and effective handling of the many changes between E minor and G major.

Ye sim - ple souls, that stray, Far from the path\_ of peace, That un - fre - quen - ted way, To

10  
life\_ and hap - pi - ness. How long\_ will ye your fol - ly love, And thron\_ the down - ward

19  
road, And hate\_ the wis - dom from\_ a - bove, And

24  
mock\_ the sons\_ of God, And mock\_ the\_ sons of\_ God.

Figure X-32: CHESTER

TRUE ELIJAH is a less successful setting, with a confused sense of tonality and several awkward harmonic shifts between phrases. Although the overall key is A minor, much of the tune is harmonised in C major, while certain phrases alternate awkwardly and indecisively between these tonal areas, such as bars 5-6 and 8-10. Furthermore, the tune appears to end with a strong cadence in C major after a lengthy passage

clearly directed towards it, yet there is a coda-like anti-climactic repetition of the final line of text, which reverts suddenly to A minor. The bass line itself is somewhat rudimentary, making use of repeated pitches rather than changes of chord position in several instances, such as bars 1 and 6. The marriage of text and tune is rather incongruous, particularly in the final two lines, ‘This solemn day is wrapt away, By flaming steeds to heaven.’ The melody ascends in a lively dotted rhythmic sequence in C major, which is a crude representation of the text that fails to reflect the solemnity and majesty of the event being described.

All hail the true E - li - jah, The Lord our God and Sav-iour! Who leaves be-hind, For all man-kind, The to-kens of his fav - our: The ne - ver dy - ing pro - phet A - while to mor - tals giv - en, This sol - emn day Is wrapt a - way, By flam - ing steeds to hea - ven. By flam - ing steeds to hea - ven.

Figure X-33: TRUE ELIJAH



None of these four tunes were widely published after their inclusion in *Sacred Harmony*.<sup>41</sup> In the case of TRUE ELIJAH this may have been due to its poor musical quality, but the other tunes conform to the basic stylistic patterns and level of musicality evident in many other tunes that were still frequently included in a large variety of collections in the early nineteenth century. It is possible that the technical limitations of the editor of *Sacred Harmony* may have limited the use of it as a source-book for later compilers, as it is chiefly those tunes first published therein that are not commonly used thereafter, while the vast majority of the other tunes were printed in many other contemporary collections.

### **Tunes in *Sacred Melody* omitted from *Sacred Harmony***

Of the eight tunes from *Sacred Melody* not included in *Sacred Harmony*, three were additions to the second edition of the former. Their omission is perhaps indicative of the limited value of the additional material in that edition, which, as noted, added nothing in terms of stylistic variety or musical originality, except for the single set-piece anthem. Of the tunes found in both editions of *Sacred Melody*, the practical difficulties for congregational singing posed by BACKSLIDER, DRYDEN'S and TOMB STONE have already been outlined and their exclusion reveals a degree of musical awareness on the part of the editor of *Sacred Harmony*. The same reasoning cannot apply to the omission of BABYLON or ST MATTHEW'S, both of which were simpler settings more suited to congregational use. Both were well-established tunes, dating from 1613 and 1708 respectively, and continued to be widely published on into the nineteenth century. There seems to be no objective musical reason for the exclusion,

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<sup>41</sup> ATHLONE proved most popular, appearing in a total of 24 collections until 1820, including *Sacred Harmony*. MUSICIAN'S appeared 14 times, TRUE ELIJAH 8 times and CHESTER 6 times.

which may have been the result of personal subjective opinion on the part of Wesley or his editor, or a simply due to oversight.

### Changes between Editions of *Sacred Harmony*

The most notable change between the successive editions of *Sacred Harmony* was the inclusion of more set-pieces in the second edition, in addition to the setting of 'The voice of my beloved sounds', labelled CHESHUNT, which had also been printed in the second edition of *Sacred Melody*. The musical characteristics of the set-pieces will be considered hereafter; the expansion of this genre in the second edition of *Sacred Harmony* implies that the performance of such pieces had become increasingly popular within Methodism towards the end of the eighteenth century and represents another compromise between principles and practice.

Changes in terms of the hymn tunes are only minor; in addition to the change of nomenclature from EVESHAM to PURCELLS noted above, BURSTAL becomes BIRSTAL, seemingly a misprint, as it is not replicated in any other source<sup>42</sup>, while THOU SHEPHERD OF ISRAEL is re-designated SALTERS, which is the first instance of this title being used in connection with the tune; the name was subsequently adopted in a variety of collections.<sup>43</sup>

Two tunes are omitted from the second edition while there is one new tune added. BRISTOL was originally composed by William Croft but, as noted, was extended in the *Foundery Collection* by the addition of an unrelated 'Hallelujah' refrain. This version was retained in both editions of *Sacred Melody* and the first edition of *Sacred*

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<sup>42</sup> Temperley, *The Hymn Tune Index*, Tune 2721.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., Tune 2601.



*Harmony*, while Croft's original persisted in many sources not connected with Methodism. The incongruity of the refrain, discussed earlier, weakened the musical integrity of the tune considerably and despite editorial improvements after its initial publication, some awkwardness remained, which is the likeliest reason for its overdue exclusion. As noted above, commentators have speculated that EPWORTH was derived from an instrumental source, which is supported by its melodic characteristics. The difficulties this presented for congregational use have already been discussed and offer the most convincing explanation of its omission.

Martin Madan's tune DENBIGH appears at the rear of the second edition of *Sacred Harmony* together with the additional set-pieces. However, its musical structure is somewhat simpler than the other examples; its regularity, repetitive nature and melodic construction place fewer demands on those singing it, although it does exceed the length of most other hymn tunes in the collection. It is a two-part setting with a straightforward bass line in the manner of many other shorter tunes and although the melody contains numerous melismas, they are generally confined to two or three notes each. There are some performance directions concerning dynamics while a passage at the end of the first section (bars 12-14) is scored for treble voice alone, without bass or instrumental accompaniment. The first section of the tune is most like a typical hymn tune, while the longer second section is musically more challenging. The final line of text is repeated three times, which increases the drama of the music; the first statement of the line is simple and mostly syllabic, the second fragments the line into three short exclamations, with fermatas over intervening rests, rising to f'', marked *pia*[no], before the final statement ascends to a'', relieving the tension with a resolute final cadence. Overall, there is some ambiguity over the status of DENBIGH;

sections of it are entirely suitable for congregational use and it is notably simpler than the other set-pieces in *Sacred Harmony*, yet its dynamic markings and the musical climax of the second section are clear indications that a more sophisticated performance was intended. It is in keeping with other tunes composed or arranged by Madan, such as OLIVERS, which conforms more closely to the characteristics of a congregational hymn tune, and THE 100 PSALM, which is a more elaborate set-piece version, but also with simpler sections more suitable for congregational use. The inclusion of DENBIGH reflects Madan's prominent position in the musical life of Methodism and suggests that his compositions had gained considerable popularity and were in demand among the more musically sophisticated of the Methodist Societies.



From all that dwell be - low the Skies, Let the Cre - a - tor's praise a - rise; Let

the Re - deem - er's name be sung, Thro' ev' - ry land, by ev' - ry tongue,

E - ter - nal are thy mer - cies Lord, E - ter - nal truth at - tends thy word, Thy Praise shall

sound from shore to shore, Till suns shall rise And set no more, 'Till

suns shall rise and set no more, Till suns shall rise and set no more.

Figure X-34: DENBIGH

These changes between the editions of *Sacred Harmony* give further evidence that the volume was intended to appeal to the musical tastes of the Methodist Societies and that in his oversight of both editions, Wesley was willing to respond to these preferences and practices. The omission and addition of certain hymn tunes, primarily on musical grounds, indicates an active engagement with the current musical practices found in Methodist meetings. The popularity of Martin Madan's music is an important element in the creation of a distinctively Methodist musical repertoire, building on the tradition established with Lampe's settings. Like Lampe,

Madan wrote in a modern idiom, with attractive melodies and a sense of musical drama, which clearly appealed to certain groups within Methodism. As the largest change, the inclusion of a range of set-pieces is most indicative of this approach and offers a thorough insight into the musical practices, preferences and capabilities found within Methodism and Wesley's reaction to these in light of his own views on music and worship.

### **Set-pieces in *Sacred Harmony*: the Development of Methodist Musical Practices and Preferences**

The first edition of *Sacred Harmony* included only a harmonised version of the single set-piece that had been introduced in melody-only format in the second edition of *Sacred Melody*. The melody of CHESHUNT is located in the middle of the three voices, while the other treble voice shares a similar range, alternating between providing descant and alto parts to complement the melody. There is much use of parallel motion between the treble parts, especially in the central 3/8 section, where the upper line plays a subordinate role throughout, replicating the rhythmic features of the melody except where the latter is especially decorative.



Gent-ly doth he chide my stay, Rise my love and come a way, co -

Gent-ly doth he chide my stay, Rise my love and come a way, co -

50

me a way.

me a way.

57

Gen tly doth he chide my stay, Rise my love and come a way.

Gen tly doth he chide my stay, Rise my love and come a way.

Figure X-35: CHESHUNT, bars 40-64

In the outer sections, the character of the upper treble line varies considerably according to its function; when it provides a descant, it largely duplicates the rhythmic intricacies of the melody, while bearing more resemblance to the rhythmic patterns of the bass when functioning as an alto line. The bass line is almost exclusively syllabic, except for occasional passing-note quavers. The overall result is a treble-dominated duet, with one voice clearly subordinate to the other, supported by a simple, functional bass line, which establishes a clear sense of harmonic direction without distracting from the decorative nature of the melody.

The voice of my be-lov-ed sounds, while o'er the moun-tain tops he bounds, He

flies ex-ul-ting o'er the hills, And all my soul with trans-port fills.

Figure X-36: CHESHUNT, bars 1-16

Madan’s three-part setting THE 100 PSALM is highly sectionalised, contrasting hymn-tune-like sections with more decorated or dramatic sections, resulting in a lengthy piece. The principal melody is in the upper treble voice, while the lower alternates between descant and alto, in the manner described above. The opening 2/4 section is only lightly ornamented and is the most hymn-like section of the piece. The range of the melody is confined to an octave between d’ and d’’ and is characterised by step-wise movement and many repeated notes, while the second treble part moves mostly in similar motion except at the end of the section, where the contrary motion between the two parts strengthens the final cadence before a contrasting section in 3/8 time.



Be - fore Je - ho-vah's aw-ful throne, Ye na-tions bow with\_ sac- red\_ joy; Know that the Lord is

Be - fore Je - ho-vah's aw-ful throne, Ye na-tions bow with\_ sac- red\_ joy; Know that the Lord is

11

God a - lone, He can cre - ate\_\_\_ and He des - troy, He can cre - ate\_\_\_ and he des - troy.

God a - lone, He can cre - ate\_\_\_ and He des - troy, He can cre - ate\_\_\_ and he des - troy.

Figure X-37: THE 100 PSALM, bars 1-20

The 3/8 section is more heavily ornamented and spans a wider range from d' to f#'', while retaining such hymn-tune-like features as rhythmic regularity and close relationships between the voices. Like the first section, its phrases are well-balanced internally and across the section as a whole, with a strong sense of tonal direction and rhythmic momentum.

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a vocal piece. Each system consists of three staves (treble, alto, and bass clefs) with lyrics written below them. The first system (bars 21-29) has a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are: "His sov' - reign pow'r with - out\_ our aid Made us of clay and form'd us men, And". The second system (bars 30-35) starts at bar 30 and continues the lyrics: "when\_ like wand' - ring sheep\_ we stray'd, He brought us\_ to his". The third system (bars 36-41) starts at bar 36 and concludes with: "fold\_ a - gain, He brought us\_ to his fold\_ a - gain." The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

Figure X-38: THE 100 PSALM, bars 21-41

The reversion to 2/4 time marks the most dramatic section of the piece, which although retaining some metrical regularity, is more elaborate both melodically and texturally with greater expressive freedom and fewer repetitive elements, making it the least hymn-like section. Although the relationships between the vocal lines are the same in its opening two phrases, there are longer melismas and the melody extends yet wider, from d' to a''. The phrases 'And earth with her ten thousand tongues/Shall fill thy courts with sounding praise' are more dramatic still, with declamatory melodic writing, including unison passages and repeated tonic chords with each voice in a high register. Although such devices are clearly designed to reflect the text, they represent a marked shift away from the hymn-tune style of the



earlier sections towards a through-composed and highly individualised response to the text; the music has been composed to reflect these words alone rather than to be used in a strophic setting, without any compromise between originality and repetitive elements to ensure congregational suitability. The setting of the last two vocal phrases is less declamatory but makes considerable use of textual and musical repetition with climactic ascents to a'' in both treble voices (A) before a long melisma (B) and a strong, well-prepared perfect cadence brings the whole setting to a close. The upper voices revert to parallel motion while the resolute tonic harmony, with octave leaps between d and d' in the bass (C) create a strong finale.

We'll croud thy gates with thank - ful song, High as the heav'ns our voi - ces raise; And earth, And earth with  
We'll croud thy gates with thank - ful song, High as the heav'ns our voi - ces raise; And earth, And earth with

52  
her ten thou - sand, thou - sand tongues Shall fill thy courts with sound ing - praise, Shall fill thy courts with sound ing -  
her ten thou - sand, thou - sand tongues Shall fill thy courts with sound ing - praise, Shall fill thy courts with sound ing -

64  
praise. Shall fill, shall fill thy courts with sound - ing praise. Wide, wide as the world is thy com mand, Vast as E -  
praise. Shall fill, shall fill thy courts with sound - ing praise. Wide, wide as the world is thy com mand, Vast as E -

77  
ter - ni - ty, E - ter - ni - ty thy love; Firm as a rock thy truth must stand When roll - ing years shall cease - to  
ter - ni - ty, E - ter - ni - ty thy love; Firm as a rock thy truth must stand When roll - ing years shall cease - to

87  
move, shall cease to move. When roll ing years shall cease to move. When roll - ing years shall cease to move.  
move, shall cease to move. When roll ing years shall cease to move. When roll - ing years shall cease to move.

A B C

Figure X-39: THE 100 PSALM, bars 40-97

Madan’s lengthy work is clearly derived from the congregational style of many of the ornate eighteenth-century tunes in *Sacred Melody* and *Sacred Harmony* and can be



understood as a logical extension of this form as certain factions of Methodism gained a higher degree of musical literacy and desired more ambitious repertoire for use within worship to utilise their abilities. Its style must be regarded as transitional for it shares common features with both standard congregational hymn tunes and more elaborate set pieces without entirely conforming to either genre. The other set-pieces in the second edition of *Sacred Harmony* belong more clearly to that genre; although still derived from the hymn-tune tradition, their musical language and structure are more elaborate and exhibit fewer specifically hymn-like characteristics.

SPRING is another long, sectionalised setting, with a text in praise of God's gift of creation, focussing on the natural phenomena of springtime. It is the only setting to include the marking 'Chorus', which presumably refers to the text, synonymous with 'Refrain', as it is bolder and less descriptive than the earlier verses.

To God the Universal King,  
Be sacred ev'ry grateful Choir,  
In endless Hymns all Praises sing,  
That endless Bounty can inspire.

The melody is in the middle voice throughout, with the upper treble part acting almost exclusively as a descant. This is a shift in musical practice from the other settings discussed above, in which the alternation between descant and alto made the main melody more prominent, whereas here it is constantly overshadowed. There are long melismas from the outset and declamatory chords towards the end of the first section, responding closely to the text. The time signature changes from 2/4 to 3/4 at the start of the second section, which is accordingly more lyrical in response to the text,

‘Swell, gently swell the solemn Song’. Triplet scales and large melodic leaps alternate in an elegant setting with straightforward harmony. The bass line is static through much of this section, with prolonged tonic pedals only relieved in cadential figures. This approach to harmonisation is markedly different from that used in the hymn tunes, where the bass line is generally used in a functional manner, sustaining momentum through harmonic variety; here, it is also intended to respond to the text, the series of root position chords in the opening section assist the declamatory nature of the music (A) while the tonic pedals give a sense of security in response to the text of the second section (B).

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled 'SPRING, bars 21-33'. It consists of two systems of music, labeled A and B. System A (bars 21-25) features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line has the lyrics: 'Lo! Gra - ti - tude, Lo! Gra - ti - tude sal - utes ye here.' The piano accompaniment has a static bass line with a prolonged tonic pedal. System B (bars 26-33) features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line has the lyrics: 'Swell, gent - ly swell, swell, gent - ly swell the sol - emn Song:'. The piano accompaniment features triplet scales and large melodic leaps in the right hand, while the left hand has a static bass line with a prolonged tonic pedal. The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time.

Figure X-40: SPRING, bars 21-33

Thereafter follows a short section in *alla breve* time, lasting only eight bars, before another section in  $\frac{3}{4}$  before the ‘Chorus.’ These frequent changes of time signature are also in response to the text; the more purposeful *alla breve* section sets the words ‘Now pour the bounding Notes along’ before the reversion to  $\frac{3}{4}$  sets the more lyrical lines



Teach choirs below to Choirs above,  
To eccho back the common Lay;  
And as they praise unbounded Love,  
To join in Bounty's Holiday.

These changes are more frequent and less regular than those observed in the earlier set-pieces, which occurred between clearly delineated sections; the more rapid changes in response to each nuance of the text give further evidence of the musical complexity of this setting, as such features would be too unsettling for congregational singing, where metrical regularity is of paramount importance in maintaining the momentum of the music. The necessarily fragmentary nature that results in this setting demands considerably more musical awareness and familiarity on the parts of those performing the music.

Now pour the bound - ing Notes a - long;

Now pour the bound - ing Notes a - long;

Now pour the bound - ing Notes a - long;

Now pour the bound - ing Notes a - long;

Teach Choirs be - low to Choirs a - bove, To ec - cho back the com mon Lay;

Teach Choirs be - low to Choirs a - bove, To ec - cho back the com mon Lay;

Figure X-41: SPRING, bars 40-56

The ‘Chorus’ section is in *alla breve* time throughout and is somewhat simpler, employing largely syllabic text setting and regular phrases. These features make it more suitable for congregation singing, suggesting that as well as referring to the text, the marking ‘Chorus’ may also have been intended to function as a performance direction, allowing full congregational participation, despite the lack of a contrasting direction such as ‘Solo’ or ‘Verse’ at the beginning of the piece. Although there is much textual repetition in this section, as elsewhere in the piece, only whole lines are now repeated rather than fragments, which would also make it easier for congregational participation. Likewise, the range of the melody is more evenly balanced within and between phrases, placing less severe demands on the singers than in the earlier sections of the piece. This final section may have been decisive in



securing SPRING’s inclusion in *Sacred Harmony*; although much of it is less suitable for congregational use than is the case in Madan’s settings of DENBIGH and THE 100 PSALM, the refrain nonetheless ensured some participation by the whole congregation was possible, in accordance with Wesley’s desires for music in worship. Settings such as this clearly stretched the definition of congregational music to its limit and can be seen as a determined effort to reach a compromise between those who wanted to perform more elaborate settings as a part of worship and Wesley’s theological and doctrinal principles concerning the necessity of full congregational participation.

Chorus

To God the U - ni - ver - sal King Be sac - red ev' - ry

78

grate - ful Choir, be sac - red ev' - ry grate - ful Choir:

Figure X-42: SPRING, bars 72-83

THE DYING CHRISTIAN, Edward Harwood’s setting of Alexander Pope’s poem ‘Vital spark of heav’nly flame’, was first published around 1770 and frequently reprinted thereafter; Temperely notes that ‘Harwood’s piece was enormously popular in Anglican, Methodist and dissenting circles in the first half of the nineteenth century; it was frequently arranged for four voices, and was even adopted by the old-fashioned

country choirs and bands'.<sup>44</sup> Pope's text is evidence of the compromise between popularity and theological expression represented by these set-pieces as only the last two lines are overtly religious; Temperley comments that it 'is more sentimental than Christian in its message about immortality, despite its last two lines, and it is surprising that it commended itself to Wesley.'<sup>45</sup>

Vital spark of heav'nly flame!  
Quit, O quit this mortal frame:  
Trembling, hoping, ling'ring, flying,  
O the pain, the bliss of dying!  
Cease, fond Nature, cease thy strife,  
And let me languish into life.

Hark! they whisper; angels say,  
Sister Spirit, come away!  
What is this absorbs me quite?  
Steals my senses, shuts my sight,  
Drowns my spirits, draws my breath?  
Tell me, my soul, can this be death?

The world recedes; it disappears!  
Heav'n opens on my eyes! my ears  
With sounds seraphic ring!  
Lend, lend your wings! I mount! I fly!  
O Grave! where is thy victory?  
O Death! where is thy sting?

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<sup>44</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* 214.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.



Temperley goes on to describe its musical complexities and the clear influence of secular musical trends and styles on the piece, arguing that it represents the most clear evidence of the compromises Wesley was prepared to make on the grounds of musical popularity:

It is a good example of how far Methodists and Evangelicals were prepared to go in the direction of secularity; for its style, form, text, and flavour are entirely those of the glee or part-song, not at all that of the psalm tune, anthem, or even oratorio movement. It is equipped with a galant cadence (bars 11-12), sentimental appoggiaturas (35-42), passages of coloratura (67, 75), and pauses for cadenzas (44, 73). The changes of mode, tempo, and time signature are just those that one would expect to find in a cantata with an amorous text... Despite the fact that it commended itself to Wesley and other religious leaders, it surely partakes a good deal of the secular materialism that the Evangelicals opposed.<sup>46</sup>

It would be virtually impossible to claim that any of this setting was suitable for full congregational participation, as even in those sections where the main melody is not disrupted by rests, the other musical features, particularly the excessive repetitions and long phrases, require a degree of musical skill above that normally associated with a congregation in order to be accurately realised. The opening of the 2/4 section in F major is the clearest illustration that this piece was intended for performance rather than participation; the dynamic contrasts and the contrasts between affective duet writing and more the more declamatory three-part texture create a level of drama that would only be possible through rehearsal or considerable prior knowledge of the piece.

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

**Figure X-43: THE DYING CHRISTIAN, bars 13-26**

Although Wesley consented to include this piece, as Temperley notes, it seems unlikely that he was persuaded by its inherent musical or textual merits. It must therefore be assumed that its popularity within Methodism was the prime, if not sole, reason for its inclusion. This represents a significant change in attitude from previous collections and even the first edition of *Sacred Harmony*. While the text has little in common with Methodist theological values, it does not oppose them either and the text setting is clear despite the decorative nature of the melody, thus fulfilling one of Wesley's musical criteria. Therefore, its inclusion can be interpreted as a qualified approval of its musical and textual content, which although not closely related to Methodism, could nonetheless be used as a popular and attractive means of communication. John Owen Ward notes that Wesley even expressed some admiration for the music:



On one occasion (Bolton, 1787) he says, “I desired forty of fifty children to come in and sing *Vital spark of heavenly flame*. Although some of them were silent, not being able to sing for tears, yet the harmony was such as I believe could not be equalled in the King’s Chapel.”<sup>47</sup>

After DENBIGH, discussed above, the final set-piece in the collection is YARMOUTH, a setting of Isaac Watts’s text ‘He dies, the Friend of Sinners dies’, which is obviously more in common with the textual content of the rest of the volume than ‘Vital spark of heav’nly flame’. The text may explain the inclusion of this setting, as its subject is broadly similar to Pope’s poem, but is considerably more Christianised, describing Christ’s victory over sin and death, but concluding with very similar lines:

Say, live for ever, wondrous King;  
Born to redeem and strong to save;  
Then ask the monster where’s thy Sting?  
And where’s thy Vict’ry boasting Grave!

Despite the textual differences, the musical setting, however, is equally elaborate, with numerous Italian performance directions, including ‘Andante Affettuoso’, ‘Affettuoso’ and ‘Vivace’ as well as dynamic markings ranging from *pia*[no] to FF for the final phrase. There are numerous changes of time signature; beginning in 3/4, successive sections are in Common Time, 3/4, *alla breve*, 2/4 and 3/8. There is little harmonic variety as each section ends in the tonic key of G major with a short passage in C major at the beginning of the final section being the only substantial move away from the original tonal centre, despite several passing modulations to the dominant. Although through-composed, there is a greater element of repetition than in THE DYING CHRISTIAN, as the opening both 3/4 sections use the same melodic phrase,

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<sup>47</sup> Cited in Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 80.

while the openings of the Common Time and *alla breve* sections also resemble each other closely.

He dies, the friend of Sinners dies, Lo Sa-lem's daugh-ters weep a-round;

He dies, the friend of Sinners dies, Lo Sa-lem's daugh-ters weep a-round;

Andante Affettuoso

Figure X-44: YARMOUTH, bars 1-8

Affettuoso  
pia

Here's love and grief beyond degree, the Lord of Glo-ry dies for men;

Here's love and grief beyond degree, the Lord of Glo-ry dies for men;

pia

Figure X-45: YARMOUTH, bars 24-32

Come Saints and drop a Tear or two for him who groan'd be-neath you load;

Come Saints and drop a Tear or two for him who groan'd be-neath you load;

Figure X-46: YARMOUTH, bars 16-20



**Vivace**

The ri - sing God for-sakes the tomb; In vain the tomb for - bids\_ his\_ rise;

The ri - sing God for-sakes the tomb; In vain the tomb for - bids\_ his\_ rise;

Figure X-47: YARMOUTH, bars 40-44

Although several of the sections would be suitable for congregational use in isolation, their combination in this lengthy setting renders the whole too complex for such a purpose. The many changes of tempo and dynamics as well as the sheer volume of music that would need to be learnt indicate that YARMOUTH was meant to be sung by those who had the necessary musical skills to read and learn it. While this represents a distinct shift in practice, this setting has a stronger connection to Wesley's ideals for music in worship than THE DYING CHRISTIAN.

Both Wesley brothers admired Isaac Watts's religious poetry and many of his hymn texts are included in the various collections that they produced. The coupling of Watts's joyous, triumphant celebration of the resurrection with music in a style that had gained considerable popularity within Methodism is an extension of Wesley's general principle of attempting to set theologically and doctrinally suitable texts to music that would be widely used within the movement. Certain qualifications of this principle are obviously required to fully explain the inclusion of this setting; a key feature of Wesley's attitude towards music was its functional value for use by a congregation, which is clearly not applicable here. However, in the same way that original tunes by fashionable composers such as Lampe and secular adaptations from

works by Handel, Arne and others were included to appeal to a particular social group within Methodism, this setting is perhaps the best example of a similar approach in reaction to the changing musical attitudes and abilities of certain members of the Methodist Societies. Other settings such as DENBIGH and THE 100 PSALM can also be reconciled with this relaxation of Wesley's original principle, as they are likewise settings of texts suitable for Methodism, while also retaining more musical features associated with congregational hymn tunes. Several of the other set-pieces, such as SPRING and THE DYING CHRISTIAN are less closely connected to these ideals and seem to have been included primarily on the grounds of musical popularity. Considered together, the set-pieces in *Sacred Harmony* therefore represent an attempt to reconcile theological principles with musical familiarity and popularity, though with only mixed success.

### **The Relationship between *Sacred Harmony* and *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists***

Published shortly after *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists*, the music of *Sacred Harmony* was closely related to the hymn texts in that collection. This connection was strengthened with the publication of the fifth edition of *A Collection of Hymns* in 1786, in which Wesley stipulated a tune for each hymn. Beckerlegge and Baker note that 'It seems likely that in the majority of cases these were in fact the tunes to which the hymns were already sung.'<sup>48</sup> Only one of these tunes, WHIT SUNDAY, was included in neither *Sacred Harmony* nor *Sacred Melody*, instead being drawn directly from Lampe's *Hymns on the Great Festivals*, where it was labelled HYMN XIV. Several tunes were frequently recommended for a

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<sup>48</sup> Hildebrandt, Beckerlegge, and Baker (eds.), *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* 770.



variety of texts, notably KINGSWOOD, listed twenty-nine times, and AMSTERDAM, listed nineteen times. Significantly, both tunes are in typically Wesleyan metres, 7.6.7.6.7.8.7.6 and 7.6.7.6.7.7.7.6, and as such can be regarded as representative of Methodist hymnody. They are both purposeful melodies with clearly defined phrase structures and a balance between melodic invention and repeated phrases, which make them highly suitable for effective and vital congregational singing. AMSTERDAM also appeared in the *Foundery Collection* and *Sacred Melody*, while Wesley first included KINGSWOOD in *Sacred Melody*, although it dated back to the early seventeenth century. Although it is clear that both tunes were suitable for Wesley's purposes, their frequent citations and lively musical character suggest that were well-known within Methodism.

## Summary

Overall, *Sacred Harmony* offers considerably less theological and doctrinal insight into John Wesley's views on music and its use within Methodism than was apparent in both the *Foundery Collection* and *Sacred Melody*. However, the practical musical differences from the earlier collections found therein allow prevailing trends and practices within Methodism to be observed across the eighteenth century. Two-part settings reflect Wesley's acknowledgement of harmony singing and keyboard accompaniment and represent an attempt to standardise practices in these areas. The few three-part settings seem to give approval to more elaborate settings, perhaps on specific occasions, while the inclusion of set-pieces is a clear indication of popular stylistic preferences within Methodism. It highlights the shifting base of Methodist membership and Wesley's own musical preferences, which can be seen to have exerted a strong but somewhat restrictive influence on musical expressions within Methodist worship.

## **XI.       The *Illingworth Moor Tune Book*: Wesleyan Methodist Hymnody in the Post-Wesley Generation<sup>1</sup>**

This case study uses examples from three music manuscripts from Mount Zion Chapel, near Halifax, to explore how local practice related to John Wesley's principles concerning congregational hymnody in the generation following his death in 1791.

Methodism was firmly established on the site near Ogden Moor, outside Halifax, and Wesley's diaries record preaching visits to the society there on several occasions between 1748 and 1790; in 1774 he visited the first Mount Zion Chapel, which had opened in 1773.<sup>2</sup> Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Methodism was dogged by internal struggles, which ultimately led to the emergence of several breakaway groups. The relationship between Methodism, the Church of England and Dissent was one of the main sources of controversy, Wesley and his followers maintaining a pro-Anglican position despite his decision to ordain ministers to send to America. The leaders of the first breakaway group, established in 1797, were prominent objectors to the Wesleyan position:

Two of the itinerants, Alexander Kilham (1762-98), who had been expelled from the Connexion in 1796 because of his hostility to the pro-Anglican policy, and William Thom (1751-1811), organised a withdrawal of about one-twentieth of the membership – some 5,000

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix H for full bibliographic details of all tunes.

<sup>2</sup> This was replaced by the current building (1815), in which the manuscripts are now kept.



people – and set up the Methodist New Connexion, which had sixty societies scattered through the smaller manufacturing towns of the Midlands and the North.<sup>3</sup>

The Methodist Society at Mount Zion was affected by these disputes and followers of Kilham, who were the dominant group, ejected the Wesleyans, who eventually built their own chapel at Illingworth Moor in 1800.<sup>4</sup> The title page of one of the manuscript volumes indicates that it was used by the Wesleyan congregation after their move and it seems possible that it was compiled to compensate for the loss of music when the group left Mount Zion. While it is not possible to date this volume precisely, its title page confirms that it is certainly older than the other two collections, which are dated 1825 and 1836 respectively. The volume bears the following inscription:

This Book belongs to the Society of Illingworth Moor Methodist Church for the Use of the Singers.

Rebound by R. Sugden May 1<sup>st</sup> 1823

Cost 2/6

This indicates that by 1823 the book had been sufficiently well used to require rebinding, suggesting that it was first produced some years earlier. While many of the tunes printed in the collection significantly pre-date its publication, the inclusion of

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<sup>3</sup> Kent, *Wesley and the Wesleyans: Religion in Eighteenth-Century Britain* 90.

<sup>4</sup> Anon., '200 Years of Methodism: Mount Zion, Ogden 1773-1973', *Mount Zion Chapel, Halifax* <<http://www.mountzionhalifax.org.uk/Bicentenary1773-1973/MZ%20Bicentenary.htm/>>, accessed 05/09/07. Anon., 'Notes on the Illingworth Moor Tune Book', *Mount Zion Chapel Manuscripts* (Halifax: Mount Zion Chapel, n.d.).

the tune JUDGEMENT by John Eagleton, which was first published in the composer's *Sacred Harmony* (1816)<sup>5</sup>, narrows the possible date of publication considerably.

### ***The Illingworth Moor Tune Book: Authentically Wesleyan?***

Assessing the place of the *Illingworth Moor Tune Book* in relation to John Wesley's stipulations on music in worship is a somewhat difficult task due to the ambiguous nature of the publication. The conservative nature of many of the tunes, particularly those by Accepted Widdop, indicate that these were designed to be sung by the whole congregation, but the musical layout of the collection and more complex settings exhibit a higher level of musical sophistication than is generally associated with congregational hymn tunes. The implication of keyboard accompaniment also indicates musical sophistry. Rather confusingly, however, these technical features are characteristic of hymn tunes of a century earlier.

Wesley's own writing on music and his edited collections of hymn tunes post-date the prevalence of such tunes and can be interpreted as a reaction against this style of performance. The differentiation on the basis of musical ability and literacy that this style promoted undermined the Wesleyan purpose of hymn singing, in that the personal significance of the message and the relationship between the individual and the religious community became less evenly balanced. In theological terms, the emphasis on the universal offer of salvation, irrespective of social, educational, political or cultural background is lessened, as although the whole congregation are ostensibly supposed to participate in hymn-singing that reinforces this message, the

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<sup>5</sup> Watson and Trickett, *Companion to Hymns & Psalms* 218. The inclusion of such a recent tune, atypical of the collection more generally, is perhaps explained by Eagleton's involvement as a Congregational pastor in nearby Huddersfield after moving from Coventry. Although he was a Wesleyan local preacher, he had been brought up in a Congregational Sunday School and later worked as a Congregational pastor in Coventry, Birmingham and Huddersfield.



complexity of such musical settings would prevent some from doing so. Musical features such as imitative entries and the associated lack of textual clarity are precisely those to which Wesley objects in 'Thoughts on the Power of Music', describing the practice of singing different words at the same time as 'glaringly, undeniably, contrary to common sense'.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, he is highly critical of harmony dominating melody; the layout of the hymns in this collection, with the melody in the tenor and imitative entries, seems to defy this principle.

Furthermore, these factors combine to make some of Wesley's 'Directions for Singing' difficult to relate to this publication; his exhortation 'sing all' is surely undermined by such musical complexity, which the emphasis on musical detail and technical sophistication in several of the hymns seems to pay little heed to Wesley's injunction, 'Above all sing *spiritually*.'

The actual melodies of many of the older hymns are fairly simple; indeed, many of them are also found in Wesley's own collections. Combined with the use of some texts by Charles Wesley and the inclusion of tunes in characteristically Wesleyan metres, it seems that the collection was heavily influenced by the Methodist hymn-singing tradition but sought to develop it in response to local practice, preference and ability. The inclusion of tunes by a local composer and the use of local names for tunes indicate that this was a highly localised collection.

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<sup>6</sup> Cited in Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians* 87.

## ***Musical Style and Performance Practice in the Illingworth***

### **Moor Tune Book**

As well as being the earliest volume, it contains only hymn tunes, unlike the other two collections, which consist of anthems; as such, it offers the most thorough insight into the congregational musical practices and preferences of the society. There are eighty-two complete tunes in a variety of musical styles and from many different sources;<sup>7</sup> most of the tunes date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though the earliest is the familiar OLD 100<sup>TH</sup> psalm tune from the *Genevan Psalter* (1551), while the tune by John Eagleton is the most recently composed. Several tunes have composer attributions at their head, most notably 'Clark', indicating Jeremiah Clarke, while many tunes without attributions can be linked to English composers such as Henry Carey and Samuel Stanley or well-known eighteenth century compilers such as Andrew Rorer and William Knapp. The most frequently cited composer is Accepted Widdop (c.1750-1801), a prolific local composer associated with the Illingworth Moor Chapel. His tunes are the most obvious examples of specific local practice, as many of the older tunes were in common use within and beyond Methodism.

Lightwood notes that he 'was a cloth worker by trade, and an amateur musician of considerable fame in his day. His life was spent in the adjacent villages of Illingworth and Ovenden, which lie about two miles from Halifax.'<sup>8</sup> His musical abilities were recorded in the inscription on his tombstone: 'To the memory of Accepted Widdop, of Ovenden, Died, March 9, 1801, aged 52. A celebrated singer, author of several volumes of Anthems and many well-known Psalm-Tunes.'<sup>9</sup> Several other tunes, though not attributed, are also given local names, such as ILLINGWORTH, SION'S HILL,

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<sup>7</sup> The complete volume presumably contained more tunes, as pages 41 – 48 are missing.

<sup>8</sup> James T. Lightwood, *The Music of the Methodist Hymn-Book, Being the Story of Each Tune, with Biographical Notices of the Composers* (London: Epworth Press, 1938) 59.

<sup>9</sup> Cited in *Ibid.*



SHEFFIELD and HUDDERSFIELD, which suggests that other local composers may have contributed to the collection.

Of the eighty-two tunes, only ten have text interlined; of these, two have texts set only for choruses that might be used with a variety of hymns. An untitled page sets the words 'Sweet Hallelujah' repeatedly, while TRUMPET TUNE has the refrain 'Welcome to the faithful soul' in which the first word is repeated five times.<sup>10</sup> Additionally, the setting of 'Lord dismiss us with thy blessing' to DISMISSION includes a lengthy chorus beginning 'And sing Hallelujah', which is entirely unrelated to the hymn text itself. The tunes are loosely arranged by metre, indicating that the book was designed for easy use in conjunction with a separate volume of texts. Metrically, the collection is dominated by the standard three metres, SM, CM and LM, while other metres are indicative of the Wesleyan background of the volume; metres such as 8.7.8.7.D, 7.7.7.7.D and 7.6.7.6.7.7.7.6. are highly characteristic of Charles Wesley's poetic writing and would allow for many of his most famous hymns to be sung to tunes in the collection.

Apart from four two-part settings, comprising melody and bass lines, and eleven three-part settings, the tunes are set for four voices; in the three-part settings the melody is usually set in the middle voice while in the four-part settings it is most commonly found in the tenor part. This method of hymn-tune setting was somewhat anachronistic by the early nineteenth century; metrical psalters of the late seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries frequently employed this musical arrangement following the emergence of male-dominated voluntary choirs. Commenting on this

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<sup>10</sup> The full texts used are generally well-known hymns found in eighteenth-century Methodist sources, by authors such as Charles Wesley and Isaac Watts.

method of performance practice among parish choirs at the turn of the eighteenth century, Nicholas Temperley comments:

In many rural parishes, the societies of young men survived and rapidly turned into voluntary choirs, where they were occasionally joined by female singers or children, although the tenor remained the tune-bearing voice. Again, the original purpose of leading the congregation was gradually lost as the singers in their enthusiasm sought out anthems and elaborate tunes with solos and duets, ornaments and melismas, tempo changes and (eventually) 'fuging' sections that effectively excluded the congregation.<sup>11</sup>

The tune NILE illustrates this extravagant style;<sup>12</sup> written in four parts, virtually every syllable is extended over at least two notes, with intricate, decorative rhythmic patterns. The second half of the tune includes much longer melismatic phrases, while the top three parts all have independent textual underlay, with the alto and tenor having rests before re-entering under a particularly decorative soprano passage. Such features would have made it difficult for the less musically-able members of the congregation to take full part in singing the tune.

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<sup>11</sup> Nicholas Temperley, 'Anglican and Episcopalian Church Music 6. English Parochial Music, 1549-1830.' in L. Macy (ed.), *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com/>>, accessed 05/09/07.

<sup>12</sup> Although it appears to be in a different hand from the rest of the collection, it is nonetheless stylistically similar to many other tunes found therein.



Come let us join the host a - bove Now in our young - est days.

Re - mem - ber our Cre - a - tor's love and hup our Fa - ther's

Re - mem - ber our cre - a - tor's love and hup our Fa - ther's praise.

praise And hup our Fa and hup our Fa - ther's praise.

And hup our Fa - ther's praise.

Figure XI-1: NILE from the *Illingworth Moor Tune Book*

Several tunes also exhibit imitative writing between the parts; the first three phrases of ILLINGWORTH are conventionally homophonic, with the melody in the tenor. However, the final phrase has imitative entries in successive bars starting with the tenor, then bass, soprano and alto, resulting in some textual overlap, which is resolved for the final cadence. The entries follow a standard rhythmic pattern, with some melodic variance evident in the upper parts. This pushes at the boundaries of the musical capabilities of a congregation and shows the influence of more complex

genres of church music, such as the anthem, that were not intended for full congregational participation. It is noteworthy that the other manuscript volumes are dominated by elaborate and often lengthy anthems by prominent composers such as William Boyce and Jeremiah Clarke, which also come from an earlier period of church music.



Figure XI-2: ILLINGWORTH from the *Illingworth Moor Tune Book*

Just over half of the settings use different clefs for each voice part, as in ILLINGWORTH; four-part settings employing treble, alto, tenor and bass clefs in another practice more commonly associated with earlier publications, while the remainder of the tunes follow the more typical modern layout of treble and bass clefs only, irrespective of the vocal ranges of each part.



Several tunes include notation that suggests keyboard accompaniment was used in performance; in some, the only indication is the occasional octave doubling of the bass line, but others contain annotated chords, although these figures appear to have been added later. Most notably, IRWELL STREET contains two upper vocal parts, while the third line, often the melody-carrying part, contains three-note chords, clearly scored for a keyboard instrument, above a single-note bass line, which could be sung and played. In terms of Methodist worship, this reflects recent practice, as observed in the full title of *Sacred Harmony*, which indicated that harpsichord or organ accompaniment was permissible. However, the layout of IRWELL STREET is not in keeping with the editorial practice of Wesley's collection, which did not provide full accompaniments.

8

15

23

Figure XI-3: IRWELL STREET from the *Illingworth Moor Tune Book*



The compositional styles represented in the collection also exhibit anachronistic features, in common with the editorial conventions observed above. Such trends are not merely confined to the tunes that significantly pre-date the collection but are also found in the newer and more local tunes, including those by Widdop.

### **Tunes by Accepted Widdop**

Widdop's name or initials appear at the head of six tunes, one of which is incomplete, while the inscription above the tune PETERFIELD reads 'Corrected by A.W.', which implies that he was also active as an editor.<sup>13</sup> As Widdop died in 1801, his tunes were presumably published in an earlier collection or otherwise circulated, as this volume did not appear for at least another fourteen years. None of his tunes are printed with texts and they all appear in a uniform arrangement for four voices, with the melody in the tenor and using treble, alto, tenor and bass clefs. There is some metrical variety in the tunes; two are LM, one CM, and two have six lines of eight syllables, which also appears to be the pattern of the incomplete tune.

Widdop's tunes are conservative in style, featuring predominantly syllabic text setting in a homophonic texture. His tune WARRINGTON illustrates his compositional style; harmonically, it follows the common conventions of ending the first phrase in the tonic, modulating to the dominant at the half-way point, before returning to the tonic in the second half, with an imperfect cadence at the end of the third phrase and a final perfect cadence. Although he makes much use of parallel thirds and sixths, his melodic writing is occasionally stilted, particularly in the lines that do not carry the principal melody, notably the Soprano, which becomes less active after the arresting

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<sup>13</sup> The six tunes are WARRINGTON, BIRSTAL, BLISS, SWEDEN and DENMARK, while the incomplete tune is not given a title.

arpeggio figure of the first phrase. Also, there are several technical faults in the part-writing, suggesting a limited ability to apply standard harmonic principles; the final phrase contains three examples of parallel part writing in a manner generally regarded as improper in such writing; octaves between the soprano and bass followed by successive fifths between soprano and tenor in the preparation for the final cadence (bars 15-17).



Figure XI-4: WARRINGTON from the *Illingworth Moor Tune Book*

Summary

While it appears to attempt to broaden and develop the basic musical framework of Wesleyan Methodist worship beyond Wesley’s own confines, the editor’s recourse to older stylistic conventions and methods of performance practice betrays clear stylistic

preferences and a limited knowledge of musical repertoire, resulting in a curious collection that represents both an attempt at development yet also a return to earlier customs, thus perpetuating the musical problems that Wesley sought to challenge and overcome in his editorial practice and critical writing.

As in Wesley's lifetime, a distinction occurs between the principles he set out for the movement's hymnody and the preferred performance practices of the local societies, which were formed according to their experience and ability. The tensions of affirming the message of the universal offer of salvation by promoting full and equal congregational participation whilst also allowing members to express their faith in ways that related to their own cultural experiences remained. As a post-Wesley collection, the *Illingworth Moor Tune Book* indicates that while Wesley's attempts to provide suitable music for the movement exerted some influence, they fell some way short of establishing a common repertoire or style of performance across the connexion; these issues were problematic in his own lifetime and continued to be a challenge for Wesleyan Methodism well into the following century.



## Conclusion: John Wesley's Influence on the Music of Eighteenth-Century Methodism

Wesley's writings on music and his overview of three major collections of hymn tunes represent the clearest statement of Methodism's official position regarding the use of music in worship and the precise repertoire that should be used for that purpose. The collections of tunes also give some indication of the preferences and practices that were commonplace within the Methodist Societies, while his writings on music reflect his attempts to promote high musical standards and offer justification for the stylistic and technical features of the music he chose to use. The presence of other musical sources clearly related to Methodism but neither officially endorsed nor widely circulated provides an important insight into the relationship between Wesley's principles and preferred local practices. An overview of all these factors, some of which are congruent with each other while others are contradictory will allow the full significance of the place of music within early Methodism to be understood, through examining the ways in which principles related to practice.

The three volumes of hymn tunes issued under John Wesley's guidance between 1742 and 1790 reveal both significant common factors, principally in terms of repertoire, and marked differences, largely with regard to editorial quality and musical format. Despite its many inadequacies, the *Foundery Collection* established important stylistic precedents for suitable repertoire for congregational hymnody, notably German chorale melodies and some English psalm tunes of the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. In addition, *Sacred Melody* introduced a large number of eighteenth-century tunes in a style that bore a close resemblance to contemporary

secular music. Tunes in these three styles dominated both editions of *Sacred Melody* and *Sacred Harmony* and their combination within a collection can be regarded as typically Methodist, reflecting the movement's cultural and religious background as well as its contemporary situation. Many of the better examples of tunes from across these styles share common characteristics, such as rhythmic vitality and the primacy of melodic interest over harmonic variety. Such qualities seem to have been the prime motivation for the inclusion of such tunes in Wesley's three collections; the diversity of the musical sources indicates that the tunes were not included purely for reasons of familiarity. It is highly unlikely that the German tunes and secular-inspired melodies by contemporary composers would have been known either to current churchgoers associated with Methodism or new followers from non-religious backgrounds; the latter may also have been unfamiliar with the tunes drawn from the English metrical psalm tradition. However, certain tunes and styles were seemingly chosen with particular sections of the Methodist membership in mind; the early connection with the Moravian community in London provided an extra reason for including tunes from that tradition, while, as discussed, Methodism's prevalence among the musically-aware theatrical community lay behind much of the secular-inspired contemporary repertoire. These types conformed to Wesley's principles for congregational music, leaving the inclusion of set-pieces as the only decision dictated solely by musical reasons. Overall, the make-up of the collections seems to have been the result of an uneven balance between Wesley's own principles and preferences, which dominated, and the stylistic preferences of certain groups within the movement more generally, possibly due to the influence of musical figures such as Butts and Madan and the artistic circles in which Charles Wesley in particular was well known.



before, and a predilection for moderately ornate contemporary tunes in the manner of elegant solo songs, ideally to be performed by competent trained singers. An important parallel to this conflict of interests can also be observed with regard to the collections of hymn texts Wesley advocated for use within Methodism; Temperley notes that despite the magnitude of *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* (1780), its heavy bias towards theologically and doctrinally rich texts did not meet with universal approval:

In the following year Robert Spence, a York bookseller, published *A Pocket Hymn Book*; it included many Wesleyan hymns but also a number of popular revival hymns with emotional appeal though little meaningful content, which quickly caught on in Methodist societies.

Wesley summarily dismissed these as 'grievous doggerel' and brought out his own revision of Spence's book, with 37 hymns expunged. But the popularity of Spence's collection, especially in America, exposed a gulf between Wesley's high tastes and doctrines and the spiritual needs of his people.<sup>1</sup>

This distinction between the hymnody that Wesley sought to provide for the movement and the actual preferences of his followers raises important questions concerning the extent to which the hymns that he set out in the three collections achieved the spiritual results that he intended. Using the various theological models for understanding music and hymnody outlined above, it is possible to identify both the desired and actual effects of these hymn tunes, using the three collections as a basis alongside a wider picture of music-making in Methodism based upon Wesley's comments and the evidence of items such as the set-pieces.

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<sup>1</sup> Temperley, 'Methodist Church Music'.

Wesley clearly sought to provide tunes that he felt were stylistically familiar and to certain sections of the Methodist membership, his aim would have been successful. The presence of contemporary secular-inspired tunes wedded to theologically rich texts would have communicated with Methodism's musically literate members while the use of older psalm tunes related to those from church backgrounds; this diversity of appeal embodies the Wesleyan emphasis on unity within the Christian community through the universal relevance of the theological message they sought to preach through common hymn texts, while avoiding the imposition of complete musical uniformity across the movement, recognising different cultural experiences and preferences. This variety of musical styles in the collections together with the more precise musical characteristics of the tunes accords with Begbie's notion that music's temporal organisation and variety serves to remind us of the diversity of creation and that ordered change can be understood positively as a reflection of God's creative order. The features of successful tunes, such as melodic invention within a regular phrase structure, emphasise key aspects of Methodism's theological values and evangelical method; Wesley's progressive concept of faith from justification to sanctification alongside the constant necessity of an active commitment to worship, fellowship and other devotional activities was designed to offer a radical, life-changing experience within the stable context of a mutually supportive religious community. Methodism's hymnody encouraged followers to pursue their own journey of faith while being grounded by a common theological basis. Furthermore, the actual singing of these hymns in the context of Methodist meetings required dynamic participation by the individual but also highlighted the constancy and companionship of the wider community of believers.



Begbie's argument that the finite nature of musical temporality allows for a positive understanding of the finite nature of human temporality within God's eternity can also be extrapolated from the Methodist approach to hymnody. As noted, Charles Wesley's hymn texts often trace a spiritual journey from the believer's present-day existence to the glory of the sanctified community of believers in heaven; the necessarily small scale of the accompanying melodies together with the momentum evident in the melodic and phrase structures of many of them further emphasise this point. The finite, repetitive nature of the hymn tune creates both familiarity and purpose, propelling those singing and listening towards each conclusion of the tune and the ultimate conclusion of the text, which transports them away from their immediate finite existence.

The stylistic characteristics of the different types of hymn tunes can be interpreted in relation to several of the 'Hallmarks of Congregational Song' identified by Wren; consideration of Wesley's own preferences and the evidence of popular forms such as the set pieces will allow some comparison between those Hallmarks that can be identified in the principles behind the selection of tunes and those that are evident in the types of tune that gained popularity.

In relation to the musically literate members, familiar with the latest trends in secular music, the inclusion of tunes such as those by Lampe and other fashionable eighteenth-century composers can be seen to embody the corporate and inclusive aspects of congregational song, which Wren argues are among its essential qualities. For that community, the musical styles used provided a common sense of identity, relating to their shared cultural experience and affirming their place within

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Methodism. These settings can also be interpreted as creedal and evangelical, in accordance with Methodism's theological position and evangelical aims. As creedal statements, they embody the Methodist practice of cultural engagement with different areas of society, emphasising in particular the universality of the offer of salvation, and the desire to impress upon people that from any personal, cultural or social situation they were able to make a religious commitment. This is, of course, closely bound up with their function as evangelistic tools; although a common facet of Methodist hymnody, this category of tunes represents a more focussed expression of evangelical intent, directed at a particular section of society. Through using culturally familiar music, the intention was clearly to impress upon those singing and hearing the hymns that the theological message contained therein was directly relevant and accessible to them.

The inclusion of tunes learned from the Moravians primarily emphasise Wesley's principles in selecting musical repertoire suitable for congregational use; in terms of Wren's Hallmarks, the stylistic features of such tunes were clearly designed to reflect Methodism's corporate theological identity, and thus conform to the ecclesial nature of congregational song. Wesley sought to foster a religious community that was united in a common purpose, did not differentiate on grounds of class, education or status and that allowed and encouraged full participation from all its members at various levels. The unison singing of these straightforward, dignified melodies incorporates all of these aspects; there was to be no differentiation on grounds of musical ability as the music allowed for only one form of participation, which was to include the whole community.

The inclusion of older English psalm tunes, familiar to those within the Church of England, highlight a different aspect of the ecclesial nature of Methodist hymnody apparent in Wesley's collections of tunes. By using these tunes, but often setting them to new and distinctively Methodist texts, Wesley is seeking to affirm Methodism's ecclesiological position within mainstream Christianity, specifically in relation to the Church of England.

Given Methodism's emphasis on evangelism and personal conversion and the key role of Charles Wesley's hymn texts in encouraging this, it is clear that John Wesley selected hymn tunes to further this work, which corresponds with the evangelical character of hymnody outlined by Wren. He argues that successful congregational song should embody the ethos of the community and invite others to join it in both a physical and spiritual sense; Wesley's intention of using hymnody as a means of recruiting and retaining new converts, principally through the memorable nature of the combinations of text and music that promoted Methodist beliefs, is clearly in accordance with his general approach to theology and the administration of Methodism, which were virtually exclusively concerned with the extension of the message of salvation to everyone with whom the movement came into contact.

This interpretation of the hymn tunes presents the first clear distinction between Wesley's principles and the preferred practices of Methodist societies. The more complex settings by composers such as Battishill and Lampe not included in Wesley's collections, and the popular idiom of the set pieces provide contrasting examples of the same divergence of views. The complex, elegant settings of Lampe and Battishill were designed for solo rather than congregational performance and seem to have been



used by the same groups for whom Wesley presumably sought to cater by including simpler tunes in similar styles. However, the musical abilities of performers such as Priscilla Rich, known to have been associated with Methodism, appears to have fuelled demand for more challenging settings that bore an even stronger resemblance to solo songs and which were consequently less suitable for congregational use or adaptation. As discussed, the set pieces represent a desire for a broader range of musical styles for use within Methodist meetings, reflecting more closely the musical forms that gained provincial popularity. These differing opinions suggest that in practice, Wesley's selection of tunes cannot be said to have fully achieved his aims for them, and thus their actual embodiment of some of Wren's Hallmarks needs to be questioned and reassessed.

The corporate quality of Wesley's hymn tunes is weakened by the presence of other settings in different styles and genres, which presumably gained popularity among certain factions within Methodism. Such settings foster differentiation on the grounds of musical ability or cultural experience on a connexional level but at a more localised level, they may be regarded as more representative of the evangelical nature of congregational song than Wesley's stipulated tunes. As these tunes bear a closer relation to the prevailing musical styles of the communities concerned, their ability to attract and engage new recruits is arguably more effective than that of the generic collections of tunes provided by Wesley. This greater diversity also emphasises Begbie's positivist attitude towards musical variety; as more complex pieces of music, they reflect a broader understanding of human creativity, demanding greater musical skills, while the part-writing of the set pieces presents a more vivid picture of ordered

change and progression, requiring considerably more attention to detail and precise coordination for an accurate performance.

The diversity of styles used by Wesley and supplemented by others also raises important questions about Methodism's attitude towards cultural engagement.

Spencer's model of the Sacred, Secular and Profane together with the overlapping hinterland areas between them highlights differences between the different styles of music and their relationships with the cultural background of the Methodist population. Styles such as the older English psalm tunes and the German chorale melodies have their roots firmly in the Sacred domain and are deliberately distinct from popular secular genres, emphasising the importance of the hymn text over the music, typified by the readiness with which texts and tunes in familiar metres can be interchanged. The tunes that share a more common musical language and structure with secular songs are clearly located within the overlapping area between the Sacred and Secular spheres. In terms of evangelical intent, these may be regarded as more significant according to Spencer's argument that it is this overlap that is the most revealing aspect of a religious group's attempts to engage with wider culture. In borrowing the musical language of secular society and aligning it with theologically-informed texts, there is a clear attempt to draw people from the Secular sphere into the Sacred via that hinterland.

Overall, it is clear that Wesley attempted to provide complete musical resources for the worshipping life of the Methodist movement. In so doing, he was guided both by personal preference and theological and doctrinal principle, which merged to produce an eclectic but largely conservative repertoire of hymn tunes. Wesley plainly



regarded these as an intrinsic statement of Methodist values, yet in their entirety, they can only be regarded as authentically Methodist in terms of their official status and connection to the movement's wider theological and doctrinal position, as set out by Wesley himself. In terms of the musical practices of the movement as a whole, they are of great importance but cannot be regarded as indicative of the whole extent of the musical preferences of the Methodist people. Wesley's itinerant existence and that of many of his preachers, along with the connexional structure of Methodism, governed by the Conference, helped to ensure the widespread use of his collections of hymn tunes, as noted by Temperley, 'Wesley's choice of texts and music was a personal one, but because of his unique authority and tireless journeyings it prevailed far and wide for a long time.'<sup>2</sup> However, his inclusion of set pieces in later collections appears to be a reactive move, which along with the presence of other collections peculiar to particular groups within Methodism, shows that at local level, a broader range of music was used within the context of Methodist meetings, varying according to the musical abilities and cultural background of the group concerned. Therefore, Wesley's collections of hymn tunes must be regarded as paradigmatically Methodist in terms of the principles that guided their formation, but they also need to be understood as bearing the personal imprint of John Wesley, which placed some limits on their widespread effectiveness.

Wesley's writings are a clear attempt to standardise musical practice within Methodism and to justify the principles that informed his preferred methods of selecting tunes and making editorial decisions within the context of Methodism's theological position and evangelical mission. His strong defence of melody-driven

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

composition in 'Thoughts on the Power of Music' and his oversight of collections of tunes in unison or with only simple harmony are closely related. His educational and instructional writings on music generally and within the context of worship strengthen this relationship.

His evangelical Arminianism combined with the influence of Moravian and Anglican liturgical practices fostered a unique approach to worship, personal faith and Christian fellowship in which hymnody played a vital role. Wesley understood its significance in allowing individuals to affirm their beliefs within a supportive communal environment, to instruct them in the essential aspects of Methodist theology, and to relate their religious practices to their everyday social and cultural experiences. 'The Gamut of Music' and 'The Grounds of Vocal Music' attempted to ensure full and accurate participation in hymn singing while the 'Directions for Singing' provided a framework for the effective use of music within worship to highlight its theological and doctrinal significance. Thus all Wesley's contributions to the musical life of Methodism can be interpreted as an integrated approach whereby theological and doctrinal principles informed not only his own musical practices but also sought to inform those of the Methodist membership across the Connexion.

However, the practical success of this integrated approach was limited by Wesley's conservative musical opinions, as discussed above. Within his publications, this is indicated by the concessions made to popular performance in *Sacred Harmony*. Even more significantly, the existence of other musical collections associated with Methodism represent conflicting views among the membership at large regarding the styles of music and the performance practices that they regarded as integral to the



cultural and religious identity. The settings by Lampe, Battishill and Handel reflect the desire to relate religious music to contemporary secular art music, indicative of the cultural background of many of Methodism's followers in London. The breadth of performance practice evident in *The Illingworth Moor Tune Book* reflects Wesley's own admissions to popular tastes in *Sacred Harmony*, giving further proof of the diversity of musical talent and taste within Methodism and the general desire for a selection of music that bore closer relation to local practices than was the case in Wesley's own collections, which sought to represent a cross-section of music for the whole Connexion.

Philip Bohlman's argument, cited above, that 'Music enhances the everyday aspects of religious practice, thereby localizing it'<sup>3</sup> is important in understanding the significance of these localised collections within the broader context of Methodist music in the eighteenth century. His claim that 'music and religion both depend on performance and the agents that bring it about'<sup>4</sup> suggests that in order to fully understand hymnody's role as an expression of Methodism's beliefs, these local collections must be interpreted as vital elements of the responses of individuals and particular communities within the movement, for in applying theologically-rich texts to music that conformed to their social and cultural experiences, their adoption of Methodist beliefs and practices represents a clear attempt to integrate it into their everyday lives. As noted above, Wesley's own collections attempted to balance a range of local practices in an attempt to establish uniform practices, with some success. His collections are of vital importance too, as they correspond to the

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<sup>3</sup> Philip V. Bohlman, 'World Musics and World Religions: *Whose World?*' in Lawrence Eugene Sullivan (ed.), *Enchanting Powers: Music in the World's Religions* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Center for the Study of World Religions, 1997), 61-90, 69.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

connexional structure of Methodism. Local religious practices alone did not reflect the full theological position of the movement; recognition of each individual's and each community's place within the larger Methodist Connexion and within the potentially universal community of faith, due to the unbounded offer of God's grace, emphasised that faith was at once a personal matter and a shared experience. The coexistence of connexional and localised collections of tunes affirms this understanding and allowed for more individualised expressions of that faith, while retaining some attachment to the movement more widely. The creative tensions exhibited between Wesley's collections and the others, although problematic, ensured that ongoing attention was paid to hymnody and thus to making Methodism culturally relevant to those with whom it came into contact. These various collections represent different responses to Wesley's dictum 'That this part of Divine Worship may be the more acceptable to God'.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Cited in Hildebrandt, Beckerlegge, and Baker (eds.), *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* 765.



Appendices

Appendix A: A Collection of Tunes, Set to Music, As they are commonly Sung at the Foundery (1742)

HTI Tune Number	Tune Name	Metre	Clef	Key Signature	Key
1648a	Amsterdam	7.6.7.6.7.7.7.6.	Treble	None	C
387e	Angel's Hymn	LM	Tenor	F#	G
930a	Bedford	CM	Tenor	Bflat	F
1393a	Bexley	CM	Treble	F# C#	D
642b	Bristol	CM	Treble	F#	G
1649	Bromsgrove	SM	Treble	None	a
657a	Bromswick	5.5.5.5.6.5.6.5.	Treble	None	C
246c	Cannon	LM	Treble	F#	G
1650a	Cardiff	8.8.8.8.8 8.	Treble	F# C#	D
598a	Clark's	LM	Treble	None	a
175a	Cripplegate	DCM	Treble	Bflat	F
599	Crucifixion	8 8.8 8.8 8.	Treble	F#	G
630a	Evesham	LM	Treble	Bflat Eflat	g
848b	Fetter Lane	SM	Treble	None	a
1651a	First German	LM	Treble	None	C
1652a	Fonmon	6 6.7.7.7.7.	Treble	None	C
917b	Frankfort	7 7.7 7.	Treble	F# C# G#	A
1653a	Hemdyke	8.3, 3.6	Treble	None	G
1654a	Hernhuth	7.7.7 7.	Treble	F# F#	G
1655a	Islington	LM	Treble	None	C
995b	Jera	CM Ext	Tenor	F#	G
1656a	Jericho	DSM (double verses)	Treble	F# C#	D
1659	Leipsick	DCM	Treble	F# C# F#	D
1657a	Leipsick	CM Ext	Treble	F#	G
603	London New	7 7.7 7	Treble	None	a
1658a	Love Feast	7 7.7 7.D	Treble	F#	D
999b	Marienborn	CM	Tenor	None	a
1660a	Penmark	7 7.7 7.	Tenor	F#	G
130c	Playford's	8.8.8.8.8 8.	Treble	Bflat	d
146a	Salisbury	7 7. 7 7.& Hallelujahs	Treble	F# C#	D
1003b	Savannah	6 6.7.7.7.7.	Treble	F# C# F#	D
685b	Second German	LM	Treble	F#	G
1662a	Slow German	8.8.8.8.8 8.	Treble	None	a
1663a	St Athol's	6.6.6.6.8 8	Treble	None	d
920b	St John's	CM	Treble	None	a
1661	St Luke's	DLM	Treble	F# C#	D
846a	St Mary's	CM	Treble	F#	e
667a	St Matthew's	DCM	Treble	None	C
542a	Swift German	8 8.8 8.8 8.	Treble	None	C
669a	Tans'ur's	LM	Treble	None	a
1664a	The 113th Psalm	8 8.8.8 8.8.D	Treble	Bflat	F
1416b	The Resignation	DSM	Treble	None	a
1665a	Wenwo	CM	Tenor	None	A

Appendix B: *Hymns on the Great Festivals, and Other Occasions* (1746)

HTI Tune Number	Tune Name	First Line of Text	Metre	Key
1813	Hymn 1	Father, our hearts we lift	DSM Ext	e
1814a	Hymn 2	Angels, speak, let man give ear	8.3.3.6.D Ext	d
1815a	Hymn 3	Away with our fears!	5.5.5.11.5.5.6.11. Ext	C
1816a	Hymn 4	All ye that pass by	5.5.11.D Ext	e
1817	Hymn 5	Lamb of God, whose bleeding love	7.6.7.6.7.8.7.6. Ext	D
1818	Hymn 6	Hearts of stone, relent, relent	7.7.7.7.7.7. Ext	d
1819	Hymn 7	With pity, Lord, a sinner see	8.7.6.8.8.6. Ext	a
1820	Hymn 8	Rejoice, the Lord is king!	6.6.6.6.8.8. Ext	D
1821	Hymn 9	Jesus, show us thy salvation	8.7.8.7.D Ext	g
1822	Hymn 10	Happy Magdalene, to whom	7.7.7.7.D Ext	d
1823	Hymn 11	Hail the day that sees him rise	7.7.7.7.D Ext	Eflat
1824	Hymn 12	Hail, Jesus, hail, our great high-priest	8.8.8.8.8.8. Ext	F
1825	Hymn 13	Sinners, rejoice! Your peace is made	8.8.8.8.8.8. Ext	D
1826a	Hymn 14	Jesus, we hang upon the word	8.8.8.8.8.8. Ext	a
1827	Hymn 15	Jesus, dear departed Lord	7.7.7.7.D	e
1828	Hymn 16	Spirit of truth, descend	6.6.6.6.8.6.8.6. Ext	c
1829a	Hymn 17	Hail, holy, holy, holy Lord!	DCM Ext	G
1830a	Hymn 18	Sinners, obey the gospel word	LM	Eflat
1831a	Hymn 19	O love divine, how sweet thou art!	8.8.6.8.8.6. Ext	a
1832	Hymn 20	Head of the church triumphant	7.7.4.4.7.D.	G
1833a	Hymn 21	Ye servants of God	5.5.5.5.6.5.6.5. Ext	d
1834	Hymn 22	Ah, lovely appearance of death!	DLM Ext	d
1835	Hymn 23	'Tis finished! 'Tis done!	5.5.5.5.6.5.6.5. Ext	a
1836	Hymn 24	Thanks be to God alone	6.6.7.7.7.7. Ext	d



Appendix C: Select Hymns: with Tunes Annext: Designed chiefly for the Use of the People Called Methodists (1761)

HTI Tune Number	Tune Name	First Line of Text	Metre	Key
2205a	Aldrich	Sweet is the Memory of thy Grace	CM Ext	g
1648c	Amsterdam	God of unexampled Grace	7.6.7.6.7.7.7.6.	G
387e	Angels Song	Father, if justly still we claim	LM	G
2203	Anglesea	Eternal Depth of Love Divine	LM	a
1823	Ascension	Hail the Day that sees him rise	7.7.7.7.D Ext	Eflat
304a	Babylon	Extended on a cursed Tree	LM	g
2720	Backslider	Jesu let thy pitying Eye	7.6.7.6.7.8.7.6. Ext	a
1393b	Bexly	Lord, all I am is known to Thee	CM	D
2222	Birmingham	Thou hidden Source of calm Repose	8.8.8.8.8.8. Ext	a
598b	Bradford	Jesu, thy boundless Love to me	8.8.8.8.8.8.	a
603	Brays	Son of God thy Blessing grant	7.7.7.7.	a
848b	Brentford	Thou very Paschal Lamb	SM	a
642b	Bristol	Being of Beings, God of Love	CM+Hallelujahs	G
1657d	Brockmers	God of all Grace and Majesty	DCM	D
1057a	Brooks	Hail, Father, whose creating Call	DCM	G
2197b	Builth	Come, les us ascend	5.6.8.6.6.9.	D
846a	Burford	O Sun of Righteousness arise	CM	a
2721	Burstal	Thee we adore, eternal Name	CM	g
1817	Calvary	Lamb of God, whose bleeding Love	7.6.7.6.7.8.7.6.	D
2225b	Cambridge	Happy the Man that finds the Grace	LM	e
246e	Cannon	Jesu, thy Blood and Righteousness	LM	A
2224	Cardiff	Thou God of Truth and Love	6.6.6.6.8.8.	D
1034a	Cary's	Thee will I love, my Strength, my Tower	8.8.8.8.8.8.	G
1831a	Chaple	O Love Divine, how sweet thou art	8.8.6.8.8.6. Ext	a
2234a	Clark's	Jesus drinks the bitter Cup	7.6.7.6.7.7.7.6.	D

HTI Tune Number	Tune Name	First Line of Text	Metre	Key
2211a	Cookham	Clap your Hands, ye People all	7.7.7.7.	G
1504b	Cornish	Come let us join our chearful Songs	CM Ext	G
1691a	Dresden	He dies the heav'nly Lover dies	DLM	F
2722	Dryden's	Ye simple Souls that stray	6.6.6.6.8.6.8.6.	G
1832	Dying Stephen	Head of thy Church triumphant	7.7.4.4.7.D.	G
2256	Epworth	Happy Soul thy Days are ended	8.7.8.7.+Hallelujahs	C
246f	Evening Hymn	Glory to thee, my God, this night	LM	G
630b	Evesham	O that my Load of Sin were gone	LM Ext	e
999d	Fetter Lane	How sad our State by Nature is!	CM	a
1652b	Fonmon	The Lord Jehovah reigns	6.6.8.8.8.8.	D
2227b	Foundery	God of all redeeming Grace	7.7.7.7.D	f#
1664c	Frankfort	Father of Lights, from whom proceeds	8.8.8.8.8.8.	C
2239	Fulham	Our Lord is risen from the Dead	DLM Ext	G
1834	Funeral	Ah lovely appearance of Death	DLM	d
2242	Guernsey	When shall thy lovely Face be seen	DLM	G
1139b	Hallelujah	Praise ye the Lord, ye immortal Quire	DCM+Hallelujahs	G
1656b	Handels March	Soliders of Christ arise	DSM Ext (Double verses)	G
2209	Havant	Praise be to the Father given	8.3.3.6	G
1830a	Invitation	Sinners obey the Gospel Word	LM	Eflat
2247	Irene	Thou, Jesu, art our King	6.6.7.7.7.7.	D
1655b	Islington	Brother in Christ and well-beloved	LM Ext	C
2217a	Italian	O God, my God, my All thou art	LM Ext	F
2603b	Judgment	He come, he comes the Judge severe	LM Ext	G
2248	Kettlesby	Praise ye the Lord; 'Tis good to raise	LM Ext	E
301c	Kingswood	Wretched, helpless and distrest	7.6.7.6.7.8.7.6. Ext	G
1813	Lamps	Father, our Hearts we lift	DSM Ext	e
995h	Leeds	Infinte Pow'r, eternal Lord	CM Ext	G
2249a	Leominster	Away my unbelieving Fear!	DLM (Double verses)	C
930a	Liverpoole	O Thou who when I did complain	CM	G
1805	London	The spacious Firmament on high	DLM Ext	G



HTI Tune Number	Tune Name	First Line of Text	Metre	Key
1658b	Love Feast	Come and let us sweetly join	7.7.7.7.D Ext	F
1822	Magdalen	Happy Magdalene, to whom	7.7.7.7.D Ext	d
920d	Marienbourn	Lo God is here, let us adore	8.8.8.8.8.8.	a
1660b	Minories	Ye who dwell above the Skies	7.7.7.7.	F
2196a	Miss Edwin's	Let Earth and Heaven agree	6.6.6.6.8.8.	G
2218	Morning Song	When all the mercies of my God	CM Ext	G
1815b	New Years Day	Come let us anew	5.5.5.5.6.6.6.6.6.6. Ext	C
1699c	Newcastle	All thanks to the Lamb, who gives us to meet	10.10.11.11.	G
604b	Norwich	O God of our Forefathers hear	8.8.8.8.8.8. Ext	F
2255a	Old German	All Glory and Praise	5.6.5.6	a
1003c	Oulney	Who in the Lord confide	DSM	a
2257b	Palmi's	Eternal Power, whose high Abode	LM	G
1816a	Passion	O Jesus my Hope	5.5.6.6.D Ext	e
917d	Plymouth	Lord and God of heav'nly Powers	7.7.7.7.	A
130c	Ps. 112, Old	The hidden Love of God, whose Height	8.8.8.8.8.8.	d
146a	Ps. 113	I'll praise my Maker while I've breath	8.8.8.8.8.8.D	F
939c	Ps. 23	The Lord my Pasture shall prepare	8.8.8.8.8.8.	G
1651a	Pudsey	My Soul before Thee prostrate lies	LM	Bflat
2208	Purcels	O thou our Husband, Brother, Friend	LM Ext	g
1820	Resurrection	Rejoice, the Lord is King!	6.6.6.6.8.8. Ext	D
1697b	Sacrament	Ah tell me no more	5.5.5.5.6.	E
685f	Salisbury	Glory be to God on high	7.7.7.7.+Hallelujahs	D
1654a	Savannah	Holy Lamb, who Thee receive	7.7.7.7.	F
2236	Self Dedication	Father, Son, and Holy Ghost	7.7.7.7.7.7.	F
1825	Sheffield	Sinners, rejoice, your Peace is made	8.8.8.8.8.8. Ext	D
2723a	Sion	Away with our Sorrow and Fear	DLM	E
1712c	Snows Fields	Thee, Jesu, thee the sinners Friend	8.8.6.8.8.6.	G
2264	Spittlefields	Jesus, Thou art my Righteousness	DCM	D
667b	St Luke's	Arm of the Lord, awake, awake!	DLM	C
669a	St Matthews	Almighty God of Truth and Love	DCM	D

HTI Tune Number	Tune Name	First Line of Text	Metre	Key
2262	St Pauls	Father, how wide thy Glories shine	DCM	Eflat
2724	Stanton	Regent of all the Worlds above	LM	G
2725	Stockton	I thirst thou wounded Lamb of God	LM Ext	a
657a	Tallys Ps. 104	O what shall I do my Saviour to praise	10.10.11.11.	G
2726	Tomb Stone	When I survey the wond'rous Cross	DLM Ext	e
1829a	Trinity	Hail, Holy Ghost, Jehovah, Third	DCM Ext	G
1835	Triumph	Tis finish'd, Tis done! the Spirit is fled	10.10.11.11. Ext	a
1833a	Walsal	Ye Servants of God, your Master proclaim	10.10.11.11. Ext	d
2266	Wednesbury	Ah woe is me constrain'd to dwell	DCM Ext	b
1650c	Welch	O Love Divine, what hast Thou done?	8.8.8.8.8.8.	D
2213b	Welling	God of my Life whose gracious Power	8.8.8.8.8.8.	a
1665c	Wenvo	From whence these dire Portents around	CM Ext	g
2267a	West Street	Arise, my Soul, arise	6.6.7.7.7.7.	A
2204b	Westminster	Love Divine, all Loves excelling	8.7.8.7.D	G
2268a	Woods	Thou God of glorious Majesty	8.8.6.8.8.6. Ext	c
2232	York	O God of Good, th' unfathom'd Sea	8.8.8.8.8.8.D	D
2246a	Zoar	With Glory clad, with Strength array'd	LM Ext	E



Appendix D: *Select Hymns: with Tunes Annext: Designed chiefly for the Use of the People Called Methodists* (Second Edition, c.1765)

HTI Tune Number	Tune Name	First Line of Text	Metre	Key
2205a	Aldrich	Sweet is the Memory of thy Grace	CM Ext	g
1648c	Amsterdam	God of unexampled Grace	7.6.7.6.7.7.7.6.	G
387e	Angels Song	Father, if justly still we claim	LM	G
2203	Anglesea	Eternal Depth of Love Divine	LM	a
1823	Ascension	Hail the Day that sees him rise	7.7.7.7.D Ext	Eflat
304a	Babylon	Extended on a cursed Tree	LM	g
2720	Backslider	Jesu let thy pitying Eye	7.6.7.6.7.8.7.6. Ext	a
1393b	Bexly	Lord, all I am is known to Thee	CM	D
2222	Birmingham	Thou hidden Source of calm Repose	8.8.8.8.8.8. Ext	a
598b	Bradford	Jesu, thy boundless Love to me	8.8.8.8.8.8.	a
603	Bray's	Son of God thy Blessing grant	7.7.7.7.	a
848b	Brentford	Thou very Paschal Lamb	SM	a
642b	Bristol	Being of Beings, God of Love	CM+Hallelujahs	G
1657d	Brockmer's	God of all Grace and Majesty	DCM	D
1057a	Brook's	Hail, Father, whose creating Call	DCM	G
2197b	Builth	Come, les us ascend	5.6.8.6.6.9.	D
846a	Burford	O Sun of Righteousness arise	CM	a
2721	Burstal	Thee we adore, eternal Name	CM	g
1817	Calvary	Lamb of God, whose bleeding Love	7.6.7.6.7.8.7.6.	D
2225b	Cambridge	Happy the Man that finds the Grace	LM	e
246e	Cannon	Jesu, thy Blood and Righteousness	LM	A
1194c	Canterbury	O Jesu, Source of calm Repose	8.8.8.8.8.8.	G
2224	Cardiff	Thou God of Truth and Love	6.6.6.6.8.8.	D
1034a	Cary's	Thee will I love, my Strength, my Tower	8.8.8.8.8.8.	G
1831a	Chaple	O Love Divine, how sweet thou art	8.8.6.8.8.6. Ext	a

HTI Tune Number	Tune Name	First Line of Text	Metre	Key
	Cheshunt	The Voice of my Beloved sounds	8.8.8.8.7.7. Ext	d/F
2042b	Chimes	Come Holy Spirit Heav'nly Dove	CM	G
2992	Complaint	When, gracious Lord, when shall it be	LM Ext	D
2211a	Cookham	Clap your Hands, ye People all	7.7.7.7.	G
1504b	Cornish	Come let us join our chearful Songs	CM Ext	G
1691a	Dresden	He dies the heav'nly Lover dies	DLM	F
2722	Dryden's	Ye simple Souls that stray	6.6.6.6.8.6.8.6.	G
1832	Dying Stephen	Head of thy Church triumphant	7.7.4.4.7.D.	G
2256	Epworth	Happy Soul thy Days are ended	8.7.8.7.+Hallelujahs	C
630b	Evesham	O that my Load of Sin were gone	LM Ext	e
999d	Fetter Lane	How sad our State by Nature is!	CM	a
1652b	Fonmon	The Lord Jehovah reigns	6.6.8.8.8.8.	D
2227b	Foundery	God of all redeeming Grace	7.7.7.7.D	ff#
1664c	Frankfort	Father of Lights, from whom proceeds	8.8.8.8.8.8.	C
2239	Fulham	Our Lord is risen from the Dead	DLM Ext	G
1834	Funeral	Ah lovely appearance of Death	DLM	d
2242	Guernsey	When shall thy lovely Face be seen	DLM	G
1139b	Hallelujah	Praise ye the Lord, ye immortal Quire	DCM+Hallelujahs	G
2234a	Hambleton's	Jesus drinks the bitter Cup	7.6.7.6.7.7.7.6.	D
1656b	Handel's March	Soliders of Christ arise	DSM Ext (Double verses)	G
2209	Havant	Praise be to the Father given	8.3.3.6	G
2786a	Hotham	Jesu Lover of my Soul	7.7.7.7.D Ext	Eflat
1830a	Invitation	Sinners obey the Gospel Word	LM	Eflat
2247	Irene	Thou, Jesu, art our King	6.6.7.7.7.7.	D
1655b	Islington	Brother in Christ and well-beloved	LM Ext	C
2217a	Italian	O God, my God, my All thou art	LM Ext	F
2993a	Jerusalem	O God of all grace	5.5.10.	G
2603b	Judgment	He come, he comes the Judge severe	LM Ext	G
2248	Kettlesby	Praise ye the Lord; 'Tis good to raise	LM Ext	E
301c	Kingswood	Wretched, helpless and distrest	7.6.7.6.7.8.7.6. Ext	G



HTI Tune Number	Tune Name	First Line of Text	Metre	Key
1813	Lamp's	Father, our Hearts we lift	DSM Ext	e
995h	Leeds	Infinte Pow'r, eternal Lord	CM Ext	G
2249a	Leominster	Away my unbelieving Fear!	DLM (Double verses)	C
930a	Liverpoole	O Thou who when I did complain	CM	G
1805	London	The spacious Firmament on high	DLM Ext	G
1658b	Love Feast	Come and let us sweetly join	7.7.7.7.D Ext	F
1822	Magdalen	Happy Magdalene, to whom	7.7.7.7.D Ext	d
1946b	Manchester	O Lord, incline thy gracious Ear	CM Ext	g
920d	Marienbourn	Lo God is here, let us adore	8.8.8.8.8.8.	a
1660b	Minories	Ye who dwell above the Skies	7.7.7.7.	F
2196a	Miss Edwin's	Let Earth and Heaven agree	6.6.6.6.8.8.	G
2218	Morning Song	When all the mercies of my God	CM Ext	G
2215b	Mourner's	Faint is my Head, and sick my Heart	8.8.8.8.8.8. Ext	F
1815b	New Year's Day	Come let us anew	5.5.5.5.6.6.6.6.6.6. Ext	C
1699c	Newcastle	All thanks to the Lamb, who gives us to meet	10.10.11.11.	G
604b	Norwich	O God of our Forefathers hear	8.8.8.8.8.8. Ext	F
2255a	Old German	All Glory and Praise	5.6.5.6	a
2973b	Olivers'	Lo! He comes with Clouds descending	8.7.8.7.4.7. Ext	C
1003c	Oulney	Who in the Lord confide	DSM	a
2257b	Palmi's	Eternal Power, whose high Abode	LM	G
1816a	Passion	O Jesus my Hope	5.5.6.6.D Ext	e
917d	Plymouth	Lord and God of heav'nly Powers	7.7.7.7.	A
130c	Ps. 112, Old	The hidden Love of God, whose Height	8.8.8.8.8.8.	d
146a	Ps. 113	I'll praise my Maker while I've breath	8.8.8.8.8.8.D	F
939c	Ps. 23	The Lord my Pasture shall prepare	8.8.8.8.8.8.	G
1651a	Pudsey	My Soul before Thee prostrate lies	LM	Bflat
2208	Purcel's	O thou our Husband, Brother, Friend	LM Ext	g
1820	Resurrection	Rejoice, the Lord is King!	6.6.6.6.8.8. Ext	D
1697b	Sacrament	Ah tell me no more	5.5.5.5.6.	Eflat
685f	Salisbury	Glory be to God on high	7.7.7.7.+Hallelujahs	D

HTI Tune Number	Tune Name	First Line of Text	Metre	Key
1654a	Savannah	Holy Lamb, who Thee receive	7.7.7.7.	F
2236	Self Dedication	Father, Son, and Holy Ghost	7.7.7.7.7.7.	F
1825	Sheffield	Sinners, rejoice, your Peace is made	8.8.8.8.8. Ext	D
2601a	Shepherd of Israel	Thou Shepherd of Israel and mine	DLM Ext	a
2723a	Sion	Away with our Sorrow and Fear	DLM	E
1712c	Snow's Fields	Thee, Jesu, thee the sinners Friend	8.8.6.8.8.6.	G
2264	Spittlefields	Jesus, Thou art my Righteousness	DCM	D
667b	St Luke's	Arm of the Lord, awake, awake!	DLM	C
669a	St Matthew's	Almighty God of Truth and Love	DCM	D
2262	St Paul's	Father, how wide thy Glories shine	DCM	Eflat
2604c	St Peter's	Jesus, help thy fallen Creature!	8.7.8.7.D	G
2724	Stanton	Regent of all the Worlds above	LM	G
2725	Stockton	I thirst thou wounded Lamb of God	LM Ext	a
657a	Tally's	O what shall I do my Saviour to praise	10.10.11.11.	G
2726	Tomb Stone	When I survey the wond'rous Cross	DLM Ext	e
2994	Traveler's	Come on, my Partners in Distress	8.8.6.8.8.6.	G
1829a	Trinity	Hail, Holy Ghost, Jehovah, Third	DCM Ext	G
1835	Triumph	Tis finish'd, Tis done! the Spirit is fled	10.10.11.11. Ext	a
1833a	Walsal	Ye Servants of God, your Master proclaim	10.10.11.11. Ext	d
2266	Wednesbury	Ah woe is me constrain'd to dwell	DCM Ext	b
1650c	Welch	O Love Divine, what hast Thou done?	8.8.8.8.8.8.	D
2213b	Welling	God of my Life whose gracious Power	8.8.8.8.8.8.	a
1665c	Wenvo	From whence these dire Portents around	CM Ext	g
2267a	West Street	Arise, my Soul, arise	6.6.7.7.7.7.	A
2204b	Westminster	Love Divine, all Loves excelling	8.7.8.7.D	G
2268a	Woods	Thou God of glorious Majesty	8.8.6.8.8.6. Ext	c
2232	York	O God of Good, th' unfathom'd Sea	8.8.8.8.8.8.D	D
2995	Yorkshire	O for a Heart to praise my God	CM	G
2246a	Zoar	With Glory clad, with Strength array'd	LM Ext	E



Appendix E: *Twelve Hymns, The Words by Revd. Mr Charles Wesley (c.1765)*

HTI Tune Number	Tune Name	First Line of Text	Metre	Key
3040	Hymn 1	O God, thy righteousness we own	8.8.8.8.8.8. Ext	G
3041	Hymn 2	Who is that fearful sinner?	LM	Bflat
3042	Hymn 3	Forth in thy name, O Jesus, send	8.8.8.8.8.8.	G
3043	Hymn 4	Thou very present aid	DSM	E
3044	Hymn 5	In sure and stedfast hope to rise	LM Ext	Eflat
3045a	Hymn 6	Jesus, Lord, we look to thee	7.7.7.7.D	A
3046	Hymn 7	Farewell thou, once a sinner	7.6.7.6.D Ext	e
3047	Hymn 8	Glory, Lord, to thee we give	7.6.7.6.7.7.7.6.	F
3048	Hymn 9	Weary of my sad complaining	8.7.8.7.D	e
3049	Hymn 10	The earth is the Lord's	10.10.11.11.	Bflat
3050	Hymn 11	Again my mournful sighs	6.6.6.6.8.6.8.6. Ext	E
3051	Hymn 12	To thee, great God of love, I bow	8.8.8.8.8.8. Ext	Eflat

Appendix F: Sacred Harmony or A Choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, in two or three parts, for the Voice, Harpsichord and Organ (1781)

HTI Tune Number	Tune Name	First Line of Text	Metre	Key	Voices	Melody Voice
2205a	Aldrich	Sweet is the Memory of thy Grace	CM Ext	g	2	1
1648c	Amsterdam	God of unexampled Grace	7.6.7.6.7.7.7.6.	G	2	1
387e	Angels Song	Father, if justly still we claim	LM	G	2	1
2203	Anglesea	Eternal Depth of Love Divine	LM	a	2	1
3322a	Arne	Happy soul that, safe from harms	7.7.7.7.D Ext	F	2	1
1823	Ascension	Hail the Day that sees him rise	7.7.7.7.D Ext	Eflat	2	1
4205a	Athlone	Jesus, in whom the Godhead's rays	LM	d	2	1
1393b	Bexly	Lord, all I am is known to Thee	CM	D	2	1
2222	Birmingham	Thou hidden Source of calm Repose	8.8.8.8.8.8. Ext	a	3	2
598b	Bradford	Jesu, thy boundless Love to me	8.8.8.8.8.8.	a	2	1
603	Bray's	Son of God thy Blessing grant	7.7.7.7.	a	2	1
848b	Brentford	Thou very Paschal Lamb	SM	g	2	1
642b	Bristol	Being of Beings, God of Love	CM+Hallelujahs	G	2	1
1657d	Brochmer	God of all Grace and Majesty	DCM	D	2	1
1057a	Brooks	Hail, Father, whose creating Call	DCM	G	2	1
2197b	Builth	Come, les us ascend	5.6.8.6.6.9.	D	2	1
846a	Burford	O Sun of Righteousness arise	CM	a	2	1
2721	Burstal	Thee we adore, eternal Name	CM	g	2	1
1817	Calvary	Lamb of God, whose bleeding Love	7.6.7.6.7.8.7.6.	D	2	1
2225a	Cambridge	Happy the Man that finds the Grace	LM	d	2	1
246e	Cannon	Jesu, thy Blood and Righteousness	LM	A	2	1
1194c	Canterbury	O Jesu, Source of calm Repose	8.8.8.8.8.8.	G	2	1
2224	Cardiff	Thou God of Truth and Love	6.6.6.6.8.8.	D	2	1
1034a	Cary's	Thee will I love, my Strength, my Tower	8.8.8.8.8.8.	G	2	1



HTI Tune Number	Tune Name	First Line of Text	Metre	Key	Voices	Melody Voice
1831a	Chapel	O Love Divine, how sweet thou art	8.8.6.8.8.6. Ext	a	2	1
	Cheshunt	The Voice of my Beloved sounds	8.8.8.8.7.7. Ext	d/F	3	2
4206a	Chester	Ye simple souls, that stray	6.6.6.6.8.6.8.6. Ext	e	2	1
2042b	Chimes	Come Holy Spirit Heav'nly Dove	CM	G	2	1
2992	Complaint	When, gracious Lord, when shall it be	LM Ext	D	2	1
2211a	Cookham	Clap your Hands, ye People all	7.7.7.7.	G	2	1
1504b	Cornish	Come let us join our chearful Songs	CM Ext	G	3	2
2236	Dedication	Father, Son, and Holy Ghost	7.7.7.7.7.7.	F	2	1
3543b	Derby	Away with our fears	5.5.5.11.	D	2	1
1691a	Dresden	He dies the heav'nly Lover dies	DLM	F	2	1
1832	Dying Stephen	Head of thy Church triumphant	7.7.4.4.7.D.	G	2	1
2256	Epworth	Happy Soul thy Days are ended	8.7.8.7.+Hallelujahs	C	2	1
2208	Evesham	O thou our Husband, Brother, Friend	LM Ext	g	2	1
630b	Evesham	O that my Load of Sin were gone	LM Ext	e	2	1
999d	Fetter Lane	How sad our State by Nature is!	CM	a	2	1
1652b	Fonmon	The Lord Jehovah reigns	6.6.8.8.8.8.	D	2	1
2227b	Foundry	God of all redeeming Grace	7.7.7.7.D	f#	2	1
1664c	Frankfort	Father of Lights, from whom proceeds	8.8.8.8.8.8.	C	2	1
2239	Fulham	Our Lord is risen from the Dead	DLM Ext	G	2	1
1834	Funeral	Ah lovely appearance of Death	DLM	d	2	1
3695a	God of Abraham	The God of Abraham Praise	6.6.8.4.D	a	2	1
2242	Guernsey	When shall thy lovely Face be seen	DLM	G	2	1
1139b	Hallelujah	Praise ye the Lord, ye immortal Quire	DCM+Hallelujahs	G	2	1
2234a	Hamilton's	Jesus drinks the bitter Cup	7.6.7.6.7.7.7.6.	D	2	1
1656b	Handel's March	Soliders of Christ arise	DSM Ext (Double verses)	G	2	1
2209	Havant	Praise be to the Father given	8.3.3.6	G	2	1
2786a	Hotham	Jesu Lover of my Soul	7.7.7.7.D Ext	Eflat	2	1
2995	Hymn 37	O for a Heart to praise e my God	CM	G	2	1
1830a	Invitation	Sinners obey the Gospel Word	LM	Eflat	2	1

HTI Tune Number	Tune Name	First Line of Text	Metre	Key	Voices	Melody Voice
2247	Irene	Thou, Jesu, art our King	6.6.7.7.7.7.	D	2	1
1655a	Islington	Brother in Christ and well-beloved	LM Ext	C	2	1
2217a	Italian	O God, my God, my All thou art	LM Ext	F	2	1
2603b	Judgment	He come, he comes the Judge severe	LM Ext	G	2	1
2248	Kettleby's	Praise ye the Lord; 'Tis good to raise	LM Ext	E	2	1
301c	Kingswood	Wretched, helpless and distrest	7.6.7.6.7.8.7.6. Ext	G	2	1
1813	Lamp's	Jesu, my Lord, attend	DSM Ext	e	2	1
995h	Leeds	Infinte Pow'r, eternal Lord	CM Ext	G	2	1
2249a	Leominster	Away my unbelieving Fear!	DLM (Double verses)	C	2	1
930a	Liverpool	O Thou who when I did complain	CM	G	2	1
1805	London	The spacious Firmament on high	DLM Ext	G	2	1
1658c	Love Feast	Come and let us sweetly join	7.7.7.7.D Ext	F	2	1
2229a	Maccabees	Christ the Lord is Ris'n today	7.7.7.7. Ext	G	3	1
1822	Magdalen	Happy Magdalene, to whom	7.7.7.7.D Ext	d	2	1
1946b	Manchester	O Lord, incline thy gracious Ear	CM Ext	g	2	1
920d	Marienbourn	Lo God is here, let us adore	8.8.8.8.8.8.	a	2	1
1660b	Minories	Ye who dwell above the Skies	7.7.7.7.	F	2	1
2196a	Miss Edwin's	Let Earth and Heaven agree	6.6.6.6.8.8.	G	2	1
2252	Mitcham	Some Seraph, lend your heav'nly tongue	DCM	D	2	1
2218	Morning Song	When all the mercies of my God	CM Ext	G	3	2
2215c	Mourner's	Faint is my Head, and sick my Heart	8.8.8.8.8.8. Ext	F	2	1
4207	Musician's	Thou God of harmony and love	8.8.6.8.8.6. Ext	G	2	1
1815b	New Year's Day	Come let us anew	5.5.5.5.6.6.6.6.6.6. Ext	G	2	1
1699c	Newcastle	All thanks to the Lamb, who gives us to meet	10.10.11.11.	G	2	1
604b	Norwich	O God of our Forefathers hear	8.8.8.8.8.8. Ext	F	2	1
2255a	Old German	All Glory and Praise	5.6.5.6	a	2	1
2973a	Olivers	Lo! He comes with Clouds descending	8.7.8.7.4.7. Ext	G	3	1
1003c	Oulney	Who in the Lord confide	DSM	a	2	1
2257b	Palmi's	Eternal Power, whose high Abode	LM	G	2	1



HTI Tune Number	Tune Name	First Line of Text	Metre	Key	Voices	Melody Voice
3631b	Paris	Come desire of nations come	7.7.7.7.	G	2	1
1816a	Passion	O Jesus my Hope	5.5.6.6.D Ext	e	2	1
917f	Plymouth	Lord and God of heav'nly Powers	7.7.7.7.	A	2	1
3257a	Ps. 100	Before Jehovah's awful throne	LM Ext	D	3	2
130e	Ps. 112, Old	The hidden Love of God, whose Height	8.8.8.8.8.8.	d	2	1
146a	Ps. 113, Old	I'll praise my Maker while I've breath	8.8.8.8.8.8.D	F	2	1
939c	Ps. 23	The Lord my Pasture shall prepare	8.8.8.8.8.8.	G	2	1
1651a	Pudsey	My Soul before Thee prostrate lies	LM	Bflat	2	1
1820	Resurrection	Rejoice, the Lord is King!	6.6.6.6.8.8. Ext	D	2	1
1697b	Sacrament	Ah tell me no more	5.5.5.5.6.	E	2	1
685f	Salisbury	Glory be to God on high	7.7.7.7.+Hallelujahs	D	3	2
1654a	Savannah	Holy Lamb, who Thee receive	7.7.7.7.	F	2	1
1825	Sheffield	Sinners, rejoice, your Peace is made	8.8.8.8.8.8. Ext	D	2	1
2723a	Sion	Away with our Sorrow and Fear	DLM	E	2	1
1332	Smith's	Stand and adore! How glorious he	DLM	d	2	1
1712c	Snowfields	Thee, Jesu, thee the sinners Friend	8.8.6.8.8.6.	G	2	1
2264	Spittlefields	Jesus, Thou art my Righteousness	DCM	D	2	1
667a	St Luke's	Arm of the Lord, awake, awake!	DLM	C	2	1
2262	St Paul's	Father, how wide thy Glories shine	DCM	Eflat	2	1
2724	Stanton	Regent of all the Worlds above	LM	G	2	1
2725	Stockton	I thirst thou wounded Lamb of God	LM Ext	a	2	1
657a	Tallis	O what shall I do my Saviour to praise	10.10.11.11.	G	2	1
2601a	Thou Shepherd Of Israel	Thou Shepherd of Israel and mine	DLM Ext	a	2	1
2261a	Traveller	Come on, my Partner is distress	8.8.6.8.8.6.	G	2	1
1829a	Trinity	Hail, holy, holy, holy Lord!	DCM Ext	G	2	1
1835	Triumph	Tis finish'd, Tis done! the Spirit is fled	10.10.11.11. Ext	a	2	1
4208	True Elijah	All hail the true Elijah	7.7.8.7.D Ext	a	2	1
3079a	Trumpet	Blow ye the trumpet. Blow	6.6.6.6.8.8. Ext	A	2	1
1833a	Walsall	Ye Servants of God, your Master proclaim	10.10.11.11. Ext	a	2	1

HTI Tune Number	Tune Name	First Line of Text	Metre	Key	Voices	Melody Voice
2266	Wednesbury	Ah woe is me constrain'd to dwell	DCM Ext	b	2	1
1650b	Welch	O Love Divine, what hast Thou done?	8.8.8.8.8.8.	D	2	1
2213b	Welling	God of my Life whose gracious Power	8.8.8.8.8.8.	a	2	1
1665c	Wenvo	From whence these dire Portents around	CM Ext	g	2	1
2204c	Westminster	Love Divine, all Loves excelling	8.7.8.7.D	G	2	1
2267b	West-Street	Arise, my Soul, arise	6.6.7.7.7.7.	A	2	1
2268a	Wood's	Thou God of glorious Majesty	8.8.6.8.8.6. Ext	c	2	1
2232	York	O God of Good, th' unfathom'd Sea	8.8.8.8.8.8.D	D	2	1
2246a	Zoar	With Glory clad, with Strength array'd	LM Ext	E	2	1



Appendix G: Sacred Harmony or A Choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, in two or three parts, for the Voice, Harpsichord and Organ (Second Edition, c.1790)

HTI Tune Number	Tune Name	First Line of Text	Metre	Key	Voices	Melody Voice
2205a	Aldrich	Sweet is the Memory of thy Grace	CM Ext	g	2	1
1648c	Amsterdam	God of unexampled Grace	7.6.7.6.7.7.7.6.	G	2	1
387e	Angels Song	Father, if justly still we claim	LM	G	2	1
2203	Anglesea	Eternal Depth of Love Divine	LM	a	2	1
3322a	Arne	Happy soul that, safe from harms	7.7.7.7.D Ext	F	2	1
1823	Ascension	Hail the Day that sees him rise	7.7.7.7.D Ext	Eflat	2	1
4205a	Athlone	Jesus, in whom the Godhead's rays	LM	d	2	1
1393b	Bexly	Lord, all I am is known to Thee	CM	D	2	1
2222	Birmingham	Thou hidden Source of calm Repose	8.8.8.8.8.8. Ext	a	3	2
2721	Birstal	Thee we adore, eternal Name	CM	g	2	1
598b	Bradford	Jesu, thy boundless Love to me	8.8.8.8.8.8.	a	2	1
603	Bray's	Son of God thy Blessing grant	7.7.7.7.	a	2	1
848b	Brentford	Thou very Paschal Lamb	SM	g	2	1
1657d	Brochmer	God of all Grace and Majesty	DCM	D	2	1
1057a	Brooks	Hail, Father, whose creating Call	DCM	G	2	1
2197b	Builth	Come, les us ascend	5.6.8.6.6.9.	D	2	1
846a	Burford	O Sun of Righteousness arise	CM	a	2	1
1817	Calvary	Lamb of God, whose bleeding Love	7.6.7.6.7.8.7.6.	D	2	1
246e	Canon	Jesu, thy Blood and Righteousness	LM	A	2	1
1194c	Canterbury	O Jesu, Source of calm Repose	8.8.8.8.8.8.	G	2	1
2224	Cardiff	Thou God of Truth and Love	6.6.6.6.8.8.	D	2	1
1034a	Cary's	Thee will I love, my Strength, my Tower	8.8.8.8.8.8.	G	2	1
1831a	Chapel	O Love Divine, how sweet thou art	8.8.6.8.8.6. Ext	a	2	1
	Cheshunt	The Voice of my Beloved sounds	8.8.8.8.7.7. Ext	d/F	3	2
4206a	Chester	Ye simple souls, that stray	6.6.6.6.8.6.8.6. Ext	e	2	1
2042b	Chimes	Come Holy Spirit Heav'nly Dove	CM	G	2	1

HTI Tune Number	Tune Name	First Line of Text	Metre	Key	Voices	Melody Voice
2992	Complaint	When, gracious Lord, when shall it be	LM Ext	D	2	1
2211a	Cookham	Clap your Hands, ye People all	7.7.7.7.	G	2	1
1504b	Cornish	Come let us join our chearful Songs	CM Ext	G	3	2
2236	Dedication	Father, Son, and Holy Ghost	7.7.7.7.7.7.	F	2	1
3256a	Denbigh	From all that dwell below the Skies	DLM Ext	F	2	1
3543b	Derby	Away with our fears	5.5.5.11.	D	2	1
1691a	Dresden	He dies the heav'nly Lover dies	DLM	F	2	1
1832	Dying Stephen	Head of thy Church triumphant	7.7.4.4.7.D.	G	2	1
630b	Evesham	O that my Load of Sin were gone	LM Ext	e	2	1
999d	Fetter Lane	How sad our State by Nature is!	CM	a	2	1
1652b	Fonmon	The Lord Jehovah reigns	6.6.8.8.8.8.	D	2	1
2227b	Foundry	God of all redeeming Grace	7.7.7.7.D	f#	2	1
1664c	Frankfort	Father of Lights, from whom proceeds	8.8.8.8.8.8.	C	2	1
2239	Fulham	Our Lord is risen from the Dead	DLM Ext	G	2	1
1834	Funeral	Ah lovely appearance of Death	DLM	d	2	1
3695a	God of Abraham	The God of Abraham Praise	6.6.8.4.D	a	2	1
2242	Guernsey	When shall thy lovely Face be seen	DLM	G	2	1
1139b	Hallelujah	Praise ye the Lord, ye immortal Quire	DCM+Hallelujahs	G	2	1
2234a	Hamilton's	Jesus drinks the bitter Cup	7.6.7.6.7.7.7.6.	D	2	1
1656b	Handel's March	Soliders of Christ arise	DSM Ext (Double verses)	G	2	1
2209	Havant	Praise be to the Father given	8.3.3.6	G	2	1
2225a	Hemmings	Happy the Man that finds the Grace	LM	d	2	1
2786a	Hotham	Jesu Lover of my Soul	7.7.7.7.D Ext	Eflat	2	1
1830a	Invitation	Sinners obey the Gospel Word	LM	Eflat	2	1
2247	Irene	Thou, Jesu, art our King	6.6.7.7.7.7.	D	2	1
1655a	Islington	Brother in Christ and well-beloved	LM Ext	C	2	1
2217a	Italian	O God, my God, my All thou art	LM Ext	F	2	1
2603b	Judgment	He come, he comes the Judge severe	LM Ext	G	2	1
2248	Kettleby's	Praise ye the Lord; 'Tis good to raise	LM Ext	E	2	1
301c	Kingswood	Wretched, helpless and distress	7.6.7.6.7.8.7.6. Ext	G	2	1



HTI Tune Number	Tune Name	First Line of Text	Metre	Key	Voices	Melody Voice
1813	Lamp's	Jesu, my Lord, attend	DSM Ext	e	2	1
995h	Leeds	Infinte Pow'r, eternal Lord	CM Ext	G	2	1
2249a	Leominster	Away my unbelieving Fear!	DLM (Double verses)	C	2	1
930a	Liverpool	O Thou who when I did complain	CM	G	2	1
1805	London	The spacious Firmament on high	DLM Ext	G	2	1
1658c	Love Feast	Come and let us sweetly join	7.7.7.7.D Ext	F	2	1
2229a	Maccabees	Christ the Lord is Ris'n today	7.7.7.7. Ext	G	3	1
1822	Magdalen	Happy Magdalene, to whom	7.7.7.7.D Ext	d	2	1
1946b	Manchester	O Lord, incline thy gracious Ear	CM Ext	g	2	1
920d	Marienbourg	Lo God is here, let us adore	8.8.8.8.8.8.	a	2	1
1660b	Minories	Ye who dwell above the Skies	7.7.7.7.	F	2	1
2196a	Miss Edwin's	Let Earth and Heaven agree	6.6.6.6.8.8.	G	2	1
2252	Mitcham	Some Seraph, lend your heav'nly tongue	DCM	D	2	1
2218	Morning Song	When all the mercies of my God	CM Ext	G	3	2
2215c	Mourner's	Faint is my Head, and sick my Heart	8.8.8.8.8.8. Ext	F	2	1
4207	Musician's	Thou God of harmony and love	8.8.6.8.8.6. Ext	G	2	1
1815b	New Year's Day	Come let us anew	5.5.5.5.6.6.6.6.6.6. Ext	G	2	1
1699c	Newcastle	All thanks to the Lamb, who gives us to meet	10.10.11.11.	G	2	1
604b	Norwich	O God of our Forefathers hear	8.8.8.8.8.8. Ext	F	2	1
2255a	Old German	All Glory and Praise	5.6.5.6	a	2	1
2973a	Olivers	Lo! He comes with Clouds descending	8.7.8.7.4.7. Ext	G	3	1
1003c	Oulney	Who in the Lord confide	DSM	a	2	1
2257b	Palmi's	Eternal Power, whose high Abode	LM	G	2	1
3631b	Paris	Come desire of nations come	7.7.7.7.	G	2	1
1816a	Passion	O Jesus my Hope	5.5.6.6.D Ext	e	2	1
917f	Plymouth	Lord and God of heav'nly Powers	7.7.7.7.	A	2	1
3257a	Ps. 100	Before Jehovah's awful throne	LM Ext	D	3	2
130e	Ps. 112, Old	The hidden Love of God, whose Height	8.8.8.8.8.8.	d	2	1
146a	Ps. 113, Old	I'll praise my Maker while I've breath	8.8.8.8.8.8.D	F	2	1
939c	Ps. 23	The Lord my Pasture shall prepare	8.8.8.8.8.8.	G	2	1

HTI Tune Number	Tune Name	First Line of Text	Metre	Key	Voices	Melody Voice
1651a	Pudsey	My Soul before Thee prostrate lies	LM	Bflat	2	1
2208	Purcells	O thou our Husband, Brother, Friend	LM Ext	g	2	1
1820	Resurrection	Rejoice, the Lord is King!	6.6.6.6.8.8. Ext	D	2	1
1697b	Sacrament	Ah tell me no more	5.5.5.5.6.	E	2	1
685f	Salisbury	Glory be to God on high	7.7.7.7.+Hallelujahs	D	3	2
2601a	Salters	Thou Shepherd of Israel and mine	DLM Ext	a	2	1
1654a	Savannah	Holy Lamb, who Thee receive	7.7.7.7.	F	2	1
1825	Sheffield	Sinners, rejoice, your Peace is made	8.8.8.8.8.8. Ext	D	2	1
2723a	Sion	Away with our Sorrow and Fear	DLM	E	2	1
1332	Smith's	Stand and adore! How glorious he	DLM	d	2	1
1712c	Snowfields	Thee, Jesu, thee the sinners Friend	8.8.6.8.8.6.	G	2	1
2264	Spittlefields	Jesus, Thou art my Righteousness	DCM	D	2	1
	Spring	Hail, Hail reviving Spring	LM Ext	D	3	2
667a	St Luke's	Arm of the Lord, awake, awake!	DLM	C	2	1
2262	St Paul's	Father, how wide thy Glories shine	DCM	Eflat	2	1
2724	Stanton	Regent of all the Worlds above	LM	G	2	1
2725	Stockton	I thirst thou wounded Lamb of God	LM Ext	a	2	1
657a	Tallis	O what shall I do my Saviour to praise	10.10.11.11.	G	2	1
	The Dying Christian	Vital spark of heav'nly flame	Irregular	f/F	3	2
2261a	Traveller	Come on, my Partner is distress	8.8.6.8.8.6.	G	2	1
1829a	Trinity	Hail, holy, holy, holy Lord!	DCM Ext	G	2	1
1835	Triumph	Tis finish'd, Tis done! the Spirit is fled	10.10.11.11. Ext	a	2	1
4208	True Elijah	All hail the true Elijah	7.7.8.7.D Ext	a	2	1
3079a	Trumpet	Blow ye the trumpet. Blow	6.6.6.6.8.8. Ext	A	2	1
1833a	Walsall	Ye Servants of God, your Master proclaim	10.10.11.11. Ext	a	2	1
2266	Wednesbury	Ah woe is me constrain'd to dwell	DCM Ext	b	2	1
1650b	Welch	O Love Divine, what hast Thou done?	8.8.8.8.8.8.	D	2	1
2213b	Welling	God of my Life whose gracious Power	8.8.8.8.8.8.	a	2	1
1665c	Wenvo	From whence these dire Portents around	CM Ext	g	2	1
2204c	Westminster	Arise, my Soul, arise	6.6.7.7.7.7.	A	2	1



HTI Tune Number	Tune Name	First Line of Text	Metre	Key	Voices	Melody Voice
2267b	West-Street	Love Divine, all Loves excelling	8.7.8.7.D	G	2	1
2268a	Wood's	Thou God of glorious Majesty	8.8.6.8.8.6. Ext	c	2	1
	Yarmouth	He dies, the Friend of Sinners dies	LM Ext	G	3	2
2232	York	O God of Good, th' unfathom'd Sea	8.8.8.8.8.8.D	D	2	1
2995	Yorkshire	O for a Heart to praise my God	CM	G	2	1
2246a	Zoar	With Glory clad, with Strength array'd	LM Ext	E	2	1

Appendix H: The Illingworth Moor Tune Book

Tune Name	Composer	Voices	Melody Voice	Clefs	Metre	Text
Warrington	A.W.	4	3	TrATB	LM	None
Cornhill	J. Clark	4	3	TrATB	LM	None
Cares		4+1	3	TrATB+none	LM	None
Werrington		4	3	TrATB	LM	None
Uffington		4	3	TrATB	LM	None
Wareham		4	3	TrATB	LM	None
Sandwide		4	3	TrATB	LM	None
Lord Wilton		4	3	TrATB	LM	None
Windle		4	3	TrATB	LM	None
Ireland		4	3	TrATB	LM	None
Lamentation		4	3	TrATB	LM	None
Birstal	A. Widdop	4	3	TrATB	LM	None
Islenton		4	3	TrTrTrB	LM	None
Traveller		3	2	TrTrB	8.8.8.8.8.8.	None
Nailor		4	3	TrATB	CM Ext	None
Crowle		4	3	TrATB	CM	None
New York		4	3	TrATB	CM	None
Southroyd		4	3	TrATB	CM	None
Bliss	A. Widdop	4	3	TrATB	CM	None
Illingworth		4	3	TrATB	CM Ext	None
St John's		4	3	TrATB	CM	None
Witchfield		4	3	TrTrTrB	CM Ext	None
Barnsley		4	3	TrATB	CM Ext	None
Mount Olive		4	3	TrATB	CM Ext	None
Wainwright		4	3 (mostly)	TrATB	DCM+Refrain	None
[ ]	James Nuttal	4	3	TrATB	CM Ext	None
Heighlingtons		4	3	TrATB	CM	None



Tune Name	Composer	Voices	Melody Voice	Clefs	Metre	Text
Blageburn		4	3	TrATB	CM	None
Brammare		4	3	TrATB	CM Ext	None
Wainwright		4	Various	TrATB	DCM	None
Plimouth Dock		4	3	TrTrTrB	8.8.8.8.8.8.	None
Norfolk	A. Widdop	2	1	TrB	CM	None
Sweden		4	3	TrATB	8.8.8.8.8.8.	None
Denmark		4	3	TrATB	8.8.8.8.8.8.	None
Deptford		4	3	TrATB	8.8.8.8.8.8.	None
[ ]	A. Widdop	4	3	TrATrB	8.8.8.8.8.8.	None
Sion's Hill		4	3	TrATB	8.8.8.8.8.8.	None
Tymperly's Farewell		4	3	TrTrTrB	8.8.6.8.8.6. Ext	None
Kingswood		3	3	TrTrB	Unclear	None
Beauty		4	3	TrTrTrB	CM	None
Colchester		4	3	TrATB	CM	None
Amsterdam		3	2	TrTrB	7.6.7.6.7.7.7.6.	None
Clarks		3	2	TrTrB	7.6.7.6.7.7.7.6.	None
Queenborough	Clark	4	3	TrTrTrB	8.7.8.7.8.7.8.7.7.7.	None
January New Old Tune		2	1	TrB	5.5.5.11.	Come let us anew
Nile		4	Various	TrTrTrB	CM Ext	Come let us join the host above
Trumpet Tune		3	2	TrTrB	LM+Refrain	Welcome to the faithful soul
Parting		4	3	TrTrTrB	LM	None
[Chorus]		4	3	TrTrTrB		Sweet Hallelujah
Miss Cousins		4	3	TrATB	6.6.6.6.8.8.	None
Rippons		4	3	TrATB	6.6.6.6.8.8. Ext	None
Stamford	Dr Green	4	3	TrATB	6.6.6.6.8.8.	None
Old Trumpet Tune		4	Various	TrATrB	Unclear	None
Burham Trumpet		4	3	TrTrTrB	Unclear	None
Psalms 108th		4	3	TrTrTrB	8.6.6.8.6.6. Ext	None
Mountain	Clark	3	2	TrTrB	7.7.7.7.+Hallelujahs	None
Avison		2	3	TrB	8.7.8.7.D	Love divine, all loves excelling

Tune Name	Composer	Voices	Melody Voice	Clefs	Metre	Text
Trio	John Pinder	3/4	2/3	Tr(Tr)TrB	7.6.7.6.7.7.6.6.	None
Irwell Street		4	3	TrTrTrB	7.6.7.6.7.7.6.6.	None
Cranbrook	J. Clark	4	Various	TrTrTrB	SM	Come ye that love the Lord
Soilland	S Hanly?	4	1	TrTrTrB	SM	None
Tamworth		4	3	TrATrB	SM	None
Huddersfield		4	3	TrATB	SM	None
Mansfield		4	3	TrATB	SM	None
Sheffield		4	3	TrATB	SM	None
Bankfield		4	1	TrTrTrB	SM	None
Norwich		4	1	TrTrTrB	SM Ext	None
American Tune		3	2	TrTrB	SM	None
Boice Chant		4	3	TrATB	SM	None
Lonsdale		4	3	TrTrTrB	SMD	The Hill of Sion yields
Hythe		4	1	TrTrTrB	CM Ext	None
Garland		4	3	TrTrTrB	10.10.10.10.	None
Peterfield	Corrected by A.W.	4	3	TrATB	7.7.7.7.7. Ext	None
Moderato	John Pinder	4	1/3	TrTrTrB	7.7.7.7.7.7.	None
New Jerusalem		4	3	TrTrTrB	DLM	None
St Luke's		2	1	TrB	DLM Ext	None
Dismission		3	2	TrTrB	8.7.8.7.D + Chorus	Lord dismiss us with thy blessing
Old German		3	2	TrTrB	5.6.6.6.	All glory and praise
Highgate		3	2	TrTrB	5.5.5.6.	Come let us arise
Mushram		3	1	TrTrB	7.7.7.7.D	None
[]		4	3	Tr??B	LM	None
Justification		4	3	Tr??B	LM Ext	None
Church Street		4	3	TrTrTrB	CM Ext	None
Old 100		2	3	TrTrTrB	LM	None









Foundery Collection				Hymns on the Great Festivals				Divine Musical Miscellany				Harmonia Sacra				Sacred Melody 1				Sacred Melody 2				Sacred Harmony 1				Sacred Harmony 2			
HTI	Tune Name	HTI	Tune Name	HTI	Tune Name	HTI	Tune Name	HTI	Tune Name	HTI	Tune Name	HTI	Tune Name	HTI	Tune Name	HTI	Tune Name	HTI	Tune Name	HTI	Tune Name	HTI	Tune Name	HTI	Tune Name	HTI	Tune Name				
1830a	Hymn 18	1830b	Wilton	1830a	Invitation	1830a	Invitation	1830a	Invitation	1830a	Invitation	1830a	Invitation	1830a	Invitation	1830a	Invitation	1830a	Invitation	1830a	Invitation	1830a	Invitation	1830a	Invitation	1830a	Invitation				
				2247	Irene	2247	Irene	2247	Irene	2247	Irene	2247	Irene	2247	Irene	2247	Irene	2247	Irene	2247	Irene	2247	Irene	2247	Irene	2247	Irene				
				2217a	Italian	2217a	Italian	2217a	Italian	2217a	Italian	2217a	Italian	2217a	Italian	2217a	Italian	2217a	Italian	2217a	Italian	2217a	Italian	2217a	Italian	2217a	Italian				
				2248	Kettellby's	2603b	Judgment	2248	Kettlesby	2603b	Judgment	2248	Kettlesby	2603b	Judgment	2248	Kettlesby	2603b	Judgment	2248	Kettlesby	2603b	Judgment	2248	Kettlesby	2603b	Judgment				
				301b	Kingswood	301c	Kingswood	301c	Kingswood	301c	Kingswood	301c	Kingswood	301c	Kingswood	301c	Kingswood	301c	Kingswood	301c	Kingswood	301c	Kingswood	301c	Kingswood	301c	Kingswood				
1813	Hymn 1			1813	Father Our Hearts	1813	Lamps	1813	Lamps	1813	Lamps	1813	Lamps	1813	Lamps	1813	Lamps	1813	Lamps	1813	Lamps	1813	Lamps	1813	Lamps	1813	Lamps				
				2249a	Leominster	2249a	Leominster	2249a	Leominster	2249a	Leominster	2249a	Leominster	2249a	Leominster	2249a	Leominster	2249a	Leominster	2249a	Leominster	2249a	Leominster	2249a	Leominster	2249a	Leominster				
				1805	Kettering	1805	London	1805	London	1805	London	1805	London	1805	London	1805	London	1805	London	1805	London	1805	London	1805	London	1805	London				
1822	Hymn 10			1822	Magdalene	1822	Magdalen	1822	Magdalen	1822	Magdalen	1822	Magdalen	1822	Magdalen	1822	Magdalen	1822	Magdalen	1822	Magdalen	1822	Magdalen	1822	Magdalen	1822	Magdalen				
				2196a	Miss Edwin's	2196a	Miss Edwin's	2196a	Miss Edwin's	2196a	Miss Edwin's	2196a	Miss Edwin's	2196a	Miss Edwin's	2196a	Miss Edwin's	2196a	Miss Edwin's	2196a	Miss Edwin's	2196a	Miss Edwin's	2196a	Miss Edwin's	2196a	Miss Edwin's				
				2218	Morning Song	2218	Morning Song	2218	Morning Song	2218	Morning Song	2218	Morning Song	2218	Morning Song	2218	Morning Song	2218	Morning Song	2218	Morning Song	2218	Morning Song	2218	Morning Song	2218	Morning Song				
1815a	Hymn 3			1815b	New Years Day	1815b	New Years Day	1815b	New Years Day	1815b	New Years Day	1815b	New Years Day	1815b	New Years Day	1815b	New Years Day	1815b	New Years Day	1815b	New Years Day	1815b	New Years Day	1815b	New Years Day	1815b	New Year's Day				
				1699a	Newcastle	1699c	Newcastle	1699c	Newcastle	1699c	Newcastle	1699c	Newcastle	1699c	Newcastle	1699c	Newcastle	1699c	Newcastle	1699c	Newcastle	1699c	Newcastle	1699c	Newcastle	1699c	Newcastle				
				604a	Kings	604b	Norwich	604b	Norwich	604b	Norwich	604b	Norwich	604b	Norwich	604b	Norwich	604b	Norwich	604b	Norwich	604b	Norwich	604b	Norwich	604b	Norwich				
				2255a	Old German	2255a	Old German	2255a	Old German	2255a	Old German	2255a	Old German	2255a	Old German	2255a	Old German	2255a	Old German	2255a	Old German	2255a	Old German	2255a	Old German	2255a	Old German				
				2257a	Palmi's	2257b	Palmi's	2257b	Palmi's	2257b	Palmi's	2257b	Palmi's	2257b	Palmi's	2257b	Palmi's	2257b	Palmi's	2257b	Palmi's	2257b	Palmi's	2257b	Palmi's	2257b	Palmi's				
1816a	Hymn 4			1816a	All Ye that Pass By	1816a	Passion	1816a	Passion	1816a	Passion	1816a	Passion	1816a	Passion	1816a	Passion	1816a	Passion	1816a	Passion	1816a	Passion	1816a	Passion	1816a	Passion				
				939c	Ps. 23	939c	Ps. 23	939c	Ps. 23	939c	Ps. 23	939c	Ps. 23	939c	Ps. 23	939c	Ps. 23	939c	Ps. 23	939c	Ps. 23	939c	Ps. 23	939c	Ps. 23	939c	Ps. 23				
				2208	Richmond	2208	Purcells	2208	Purcells	2208	Purcells	2208	Purcells	2208	Purcells	2208	Purcells	2208	Purcells	2208	Purcells	2208	Purcells	2208	Purcells	2208	Purcells				
1820	Hymn 8	1820	On the Resurrection	1820	Resurrection	1820	Resurrection	1820	Resurrection	1820	Resurrection	1820	Resurrection	1820	Resurrection	1820	Resurrection	1820	Resurrection	1820	Resurrection	1820	Resurrection	1820	Resurrection	1820	Resurrection				
				1697b	Sacrament	1697b	Sacrament	1697b	Sacrament	1697b	Sacrament	1697b	Sacrament	1697b	Sacrament	1697b	Sacrament	1697b	Sacrament	1697b	Sacrament	1697b	Sacrament	1697b	Sacrament	1697b	Sacrament				
				2236	Dedication	2236	Self Dedication	2236	Self Dedication	2236	Self Dedication	2236	Self Dedication	2236	Self Dedication	2236	Self Dedication	2236	Self Dedication	2236	Self Dedication	2236	Self Dedication	2236	Self Dedication	2236	Dedication				
				1825	Sheffield	1825	Sheffield	1825	Sheffield	1825	Sheffield	1825	Sheffield	1825	Sheffield	1825	Sheffield	1825	Sheffield	1825	Sheffield	1825	Sheffield	1825	Sheffield	1825	Sheffield				
1825	Hymn 13			2723a	Sion	2723a	Sion	2723a	Sion	2723a	Sion	2723a	Sion	2723a	Sion	2723a	Sion	2723a	Sion	2723a	Sion	2723a	Sion	2723a	Sion	2723a	Sion				
				1712c	Snowfields	1712c	Snows Fields	1712c	Snows Fields	1712c	Snows Fields	1712c	Snows Fields	1712c	Snows Fields	1712c	Snows Fields	1712c	Snows Fields	1712c	Snows Fields	1712c	Snows Fields	1712c	Snows Fields	1712c	Snows Fields				
				2264	Spittlefields	2264	Spittlefields	2264	Spittlefields	2264	Spittlefields	2264	Spittlefields	2264	Spittlefields	2264	Spittlefields	2264	Spittlefields	2264	Spittlefields	2264	Spittlefields	2264	Spittlefields	2264	Spittlefields				
				2262	St. Paul's	2262	St. Pauls	2262	St. Pauls	2262	St. Pauls	2262	St. Pauls	2262	St. Pauls	2262	St. Pauls	2262	St. Pauls	2262	St. Pauls	2262	St. Pauls	2262	St. Pauls	2262	St. Paul's				
						2724	Stanton	2724	Stanton	2724	Stanton	2724	Stanton	2724	Stanton	2724	Stanton	2724	Stanton	2724	Stanton	2724	Stanton	2724	Stanton	2724	Stanton				
						2725	Stockton	2725	Stockton	2725	Stockton	2725	Stockton	2725	Stockton	2725	Stockton	2725	Stockton	2725	Stockton	2725	Stockton	2725	Stockton	2725	Stockton				
						2726	Tomb Stone	2726	Tomb Stone	2726	Tomb Stone	2726	Tomb Stone	2726	Tomb Stone	2726	Tomb Stone	2726	Tomb Stone	2726	Tomb Stone	2726	Tomb Stone	2726	Tomb Stone	2726	Tomb Stone				
1829a	Hymn 17	1829a	Trinity	1829a	Trinity	1829a	Trinity	1829a	Trinity	1829a	Trinity	1829a	Trinity	1829a	Trinity	1829a	Trinity	1829a	Trinity	1829a	Trinity	1829a	Trinity	1829a	Trinity	1829a	Trinity				
1835	Hymn 23	1835	Marlbrough	1835	Triumph	1835	Triumph	1835	Triumph	1835	Triumph	1835	Triumph	1835	Triumph	1835	Triumph	1835	Triumph	1835	Triumph	1835	Triumph	1835	Triumph	1835	Triumph				
1833a	Hymn 21	1833a	Walsall	1833a	Walsall	1833a	Walsall	1833a	Walsall	1833a	Walsall	1833a	Walsall	1833a	Walsall	1833a	Walsall	1833a	Walsall	1833a	Walsall	1833a	Walsall	1833a	Walsall	1833a	Walsall				
				2266	Wednesbury	2266	Wednesbury	2266	Wednesbury	2266	Wednesbury	2266	Wednesbury	2266	Wednesbury	2266	Wednesbury	2266	Wednesbury	2266	Wednesbury	2266	Wednesbury	2266	Wednesbury	2266	Wednesbury				
				2213b	Harwich	2213b	Welling	2213b	Welling	2213b	Welling	2213b	Welling	2213b	Welling	2213b	Welling	2213b	Welling	2213b	Welling	2213b	Welling	2213b	Welling	2213b	Welling				
				2267a	West Street	2267a	West Street	2267a	West Street	2267a	West Street	2267a	West Street	2267a	West Street	2267a	West Street	2267a	West Street	2267a	West Street	2267a	West Street	2267a	West Street	2267a	West-Street				







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